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Between Ourselves

THE CONTRIBUTORS

Dr. Allah Bakhsh, M.B.B.S., D.P.H., a Pakistani Muslim, is Chief Chemical Examiner in the Government of West Pakistan, Lahore, Pakistan.



Professor Annemarie Schimmel, a German scholar, is a member of the teaching staff of the University of Ankara, Turkey.



Edward 'Atiyah, a Lebanese Arab Christian, is an author of repute in English. His latest book is The Arabs, London, 1955, in the famous Pelican series



Ashraf Adib, a Turkish Muslim, is Editor of the religious Turkish weekly, Sabil al-Rashad, Istanbul, Turkey.



Ahmad Na'eem, B.Com., a Pakistani Muslim journalist on a visit to London, is a student of economics.



W. B. Bashyr Pickard, B.A.(Cantab), an English Muslim, is author of several books on Islam. He writes fiction and poetry.

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AGENT IN KASHMIR

Annual Subscription Rs. 16/12, post free; single copies Rs. 1/11 Abdul 'Aziz Shora, Esq., Editor, Roshni, Srinagar, Kashmir.

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الله المالكة ا

"Muhammad is . . . the Messenger of God and the Last of the Prophets . . ." — THE HOLY QUR'AN 33 : 40
"There will be no Prophet after me" — THE PROPHET MUHAMMAD

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FEBRUARY, 1956

Jumada 'l-thaniyah - Rajab, 1375

1955 A YEAR OF MUSLIM RENAISSANCE

The Establishment of the Sudan as an Independent State

The Emergence of other Muslim States

Morocco, Tunisia, Nigeria, Algeria and Malaya

The emergence of the Sudan as a fully independent State, the development of home rule in Tunisia, the return of the legitimate Sultan to Morocco after two years of exile and the resultant bloodshed, the world-wide recognition of the existence of an Algerian Muslim nation after a year's heroic struggle which is holding down over 200,000 French troops in Algeria, such are some of the main features of 1955 which justify the claim that 1955 was a year of Muslim renaissance.

The re-emergence of Malaya as a sovereign State under a Muslim Premier, Tengu 'Abd al-Rahman, is another notable feature of 1955, although Malaya, thanks to the former British colonial policy of importing Chinese labour, is now a State with a powerful non-Muslim community, while in Singapore, where a national government has been formed under Mr. Marshall, the Muslims now form only a minority which is, however, represented in the government. Again, in Nigeria, with its 31,000,000 population (the largest population in any one country in Africa — it exceeds that of Egypt by at least 9,000,000), where the Muslims form a powerful minority of over 10,000,000—there is a demand for independence in 1956. The emergence of Morocco and Nigeria as independent States is bound to have repercussions on the Muslim African States under French occupation in West Africa, such as Senegal, the Niger territory and the Western Sudan. In Senegal in the 1956 elections, Mr. Louis Senghor, a Christian, has once again been elected a deputy, no doubt with the support of the Quisling Muslim marabouts who are the agents of the French administration. But although the West African nationalist movement in this part of the world is still corrupted and thwarted by French intrigue, Islam is accepted by increasing numbers as a refuge against French imperialism.

The vote of the General Assembly of the United Nations

placing Algeria on the agenda, despite the efforts of the French delegates who walked out (just as the Japanese and Italian delegates did in similar cases in the pre-war days of the League of Nations), is tantamount to an admission of the existence of a bona fide Algerian nationalism and marks the first step towards Algerian independence. The shameful withdrawal of this motion as a result of the typical shady intrigues which have marred the more beneficial activities of the United Nations will long remain a blot on all the participants in these activities. But current history has shown that obstruction is only a temporary deterrent. For instance, we know that once Libya, Tunisia and Morocco were placed before the United Nations Assembly, their independence was merely a matter of time. It is true that the Algerian case is further complicated by the presence of nearly 1,000,000 colonials of European descent, but the heroic resistance of the Algerian partisans of the Committee of Revolutionary Action has amazed the military and political experts of the world. Even in France itself there is a marked change; Algeria was the main issue of the January 1956 French elections, in which the infamous M. Martinaud-Deplat, the former Radical Minister of the Interior, was defeated and in which over half the elected deputies are now pledged to some form of agreement with Algerian nationalism, a state of affairs which has only been produced by Algerian armed resistance and external pressure largely by the Muslim and other Bandoeng powers.

The return of His Majesty Sultan Muhammad Ibn Yusuf to Morocco was a crushing blow for French imperial intrigue. Morocco is now virtually governed by the Sultan and the great democratic mass party, the Istiqlal, and the Moroccan trade unions. The Quisling Pasha, Tihami al-Qallawi, the most evil influence in North Africa and the virtual absolute dictator of 1,500,000 Moroccans, has been forced to bite the dust and to pay homage to his arch-enemy, the legitimate Sultan of Morocco.

The Sudan

The Sudan, having secured the withdrawal of British troops and the British Governor-General, as well as the Egyptian troops, suffered an unfortunate insurrection in the South in which the Muslim Northerners were the main sufferers. But national unity has been achieved in the North and the rival religious leaders, the Sayyid 'Ali Merghani and the Sayyid 'Abd al-Rahman, have for the first time composed their differences in order to achieve full independence in harmony.

The emergence of this great and predominantly Muslim power is a matter of tremendous importance for the whole Muslim world. Only four years ago the idea would have appeared laughable. Britain was then in an unrelenting mood; the British officials of the much-vaunted efficient Sudan civil service were able to exploit Anglo-Egyptian differences to the full. But the success of General Naiib in uniting Sudanese opinion and coming to an agreement with Britain completely changed this picture, and the only unfortunate events since that date have been the deteriorating of Egyptian-Sudanese relations, possibly due to the overenthusiastic support of resurgent Egyptian nationalism and the Southern revolt of the non-Muslim population. Latterly, Egypt has sensibly accepted the inevitable, and there is some hope that a compromise may be worked out so that the gigantic Aswan High Dam project may be carried out; for this can only be done with the full consent and co-operation of the Sudanese, part of whose territory will be inundated if the scheme is put into effect. The Southern revolt might never have occurred had the British, with the aid of Christian missionaries, not placed for years a virtual iron curtain around the population of the Southern provinces to the exclusion of the Muslim missionaries, who would long ago have dispelled the bogy and myth of Muslim "slavemarkets".

Indonesia and Malaya

The much-delayed Indonesian elections have now been carried out with a great deal of efficiency and in a commendable atmosphere of tranquillity. The Bandoeng Conference and the inscription of West Irian on the agenda of the United Nations further enhanced Indonesian prestige abroad. In the beginning of January 1956 it was announced that the latest Indonesian talks with the Netherlands Government over Irian had come to naught, as was expected; for the Dutch are impregnated with the most retrograde colonialist mentality, and seem only capable of ceding to force. Indonesia's close relations with the governments of Malaya and Singapore are encouraging reminders that their Muslim ancestors, emerging from dependence, look to Indonesia for friendship and guidance.

Egypt

During 1955 Arab-Israeli relations further deteriorated. The repeated Israeli aggressions, the so-called reprisals, out of all proportion to the alleged Arab aggressions to which they were the brutal answer, very nearly resulted in open war. The Egyptian Government is to be highly commended for the energetic way it has attempted to arm itself effectively whether by buying arms from the Western powers or the Soviet bloc. The Egyptians, fully aware of the dangers of employing Soviet technicians, are bitterly opposed to the Communist fifth column, whose activities they have done much to neutralize, but they know that Czechoslovak arms,

which are of a high technical quality, played a large part in the consolidation of Israeli troops in Palestine in 1949. They realize that they must buy arms from every available source. The fact that Egypt has bought reconditioned British tanks from Belgium proves this point. The Western Press never murmured when the Jews bought British armaments from this very source, but once the Egyptians showed commendable energy by following suit, a violent Press and political campaign ensued. The British Labour Party and their leader, Mr. Gaitskell, are attempting to make political capital out of the purchase by Egypt of the few reconditioned British tanks in order to assure the support of half a million British Jews, who form a powerful electoral force, with an eye on the small number of votes needed to defeat the Conservative Party in the next General Election.

Informed British opinion is perfectly aware of the justice of the Arab cause in Palestine, and the courageous Labour ex-Minister, Dr. Edith Summerskill, has publicly stated this. The British Premier is reported to have supported the view that the Negev should be handed over to the Arabs (at least partially) so that Jordan and Egypt might have a common frontier. The British Government refuses to commit itself on this point, and merely stresses that it wishes to bring the conflicting parties together through its good offices. But feeling is that the Zionists have exasperated the British Government, and both the British and Americans know that further support for Zionism will merely open the door of the Middle East to Russia. Also the Arabs have learnt to their bitter cost that they get nowhere by indulging in interminable conversation unless they are backed by realistic actions.

The Baghdad Pact has gained in importance in so far as it links the Muslim powers such as Pakistan, Iran, Turkey and Iraq, but the foolish attempt by the British Chief of Staff to force Jordan to join has created a permanent crisis in that country and has ruined British prestige. It was as illadvised as the attempt to force Iraq prematurely to sign the abortive Treaty of Portsmouth some years ago.

It is essential that any real Middle East Defence Pact must revolve around Egypt and Iraq. An alliance must include Egypt's allies, Syria and Sa'udi Arabia. Britain's attempt to bolster up the rulers of Abu Dhabi, Muscat and Oman against the inevitable trend of Arab nationalism and the unifying activity of Sa'udi Arabia, are vowed to ultimate failure.

PEN PALS

- Z. A. Maulani, Kaliurang 30, Malang, Indonesia, aged 17 years, would correspond with any Muslim from all over the world, especially from Europe, America and Africa. *Interests*: Stamp and shell collecting, painting, singing, scouting and exchanging
- of religious books.

 Ghulam Kadir, 29 Main Road, Taiping, Perak, Malaya, aged
 21 years, wishes to correspond with Muslim boys and girls.

 Interests: Friendly correspondence, Muslim literature, exchang-
- ing of photos, view cards, stamps, etc.

 E. Hasnudeen, Charles Place, New Amsterdam, Berbice, British Guiana, aged 21 years. Wishes to correspond with pen friends of either sex throughout the world. *Interests:* General.

 Yusuf Moosa, P.O. Box 9069, Johannesburg, South Africa, aged 27 years. Wishes to correspond with both sexes between the
- Yusuf Moosa, P.O. Box 9069, Johannesburg, South Africa, aged 27 years. Wishes to correspond with both sexes between the ages of 17 and 30. Interests: Collecting and exchanging Islamic literature and magazines from any Muslim or non-Muslim country. Correspondence in English.

 Mr. A. C. Patal. Box 33, Bloemhof, Transvaal, South Africa, aged 17 years. Will reply to anyone from anywhere. Interests: Political affairs, religion, sports and stamp collecting.



(Muhammad, the peace of God be upon him!)

MUHAMMAD, HUMANITY'S GREATEST BENEFACTOR

By Dr. Allah Bakhsh

"We have not sent thee but as a mercy for the nations" (The Holy Qur'an, 21:107).

Unique and incontestably authoritative events in the Prophet's life

The world has witnessed the advent of many a spiritual luminary. No country or nation has remained without having seen the appearance of a heavenly-commissioned person. It has become a convention on the part of ardent followers of each and every prophet to hymn the praise of their own spiritual leaders. Possession of the power of the miraculous, the performing of actions contrary to Divine laws, form an essential part of the life histories of these Divine personages. Some of them have even been deified, others have been depicted as if they were beings greater than human. A halo of the occult and the mystical surrounds them. Their narratives are enshrouded in the mist of superstition, accounts more in consonance with the fable rather than with the realities of everyday life. Such procedure may have been helpful in pre-scientific times, but in the days of learning and knowledge, when everything is evaluated on the basis of its beneficial effect on human lives, such descriptions can hardly be expected to evoke any response. It is due to this changed attitude that some historians have gone to the extent of denying the very existence of some of the Divinely raised persons. Lack of authentic record has been mostly the cause of denial.

By a fortune unique in the world's history the life history of the Prophet Muhammad differs entirely from the above picture. The incidents of his life have come down to us with the utmost of authentic accuracy and exactitude. For their recording, a most reliable and trustworthy chain of narratives is available. Each and every person concerned in the chain to the Prophet Muhammad has been made the subject of study; his attainments, his pursuits, his conduct and character have all been critically examined on the basis of such historical investigation, and unbiased and just opinion about those persons relating the traditions has been formed. Persons found to be defective in their mental calibre or their veracity have been excluded. What an enormous amount of

research and labour has been spent! Has there been another person in the world the events of whose life have been handed down to posterity with such accurate findings and critical examination of those responsible for his narratives? It is due to this kind of sifting that even unbiased historians who are not followers of the Prophet Muhammad have no hesitation in acknowledging the authenticity and accuracy of his life history.

Professor Nicholson in his Literary History of the Arabs, London, 1914, p. 143, writes to the following effect:

"We shall see, moreover, that the Koran is an exceedingly human document, reflecting every phase of Muhammad's personality and standing in close relationship to the outward events of his life; so that here we have materials of unique and incontestable authority for tracing the origin and early development of Islam as do not exist in the case of Buddhism or Christianity or any other ancient religion" (italics are mine).

It is a remarkable admission. The events in connection with the Prophet's life and early Islamic development can be traced with authoritative and historical accuracy, as is not possible in the case of any other religion. The statement of Professor Nicholson that the Qur'an reflects every phase of the personality of Muhammad is similar to the well-known opinion of 'Ai'sha regarding the Prophet's character. When asked as to the Prophet's character, that illustrious lady replied: "His character is embodied in the pages of the Qur'an". In the Qur'an the Prophet's character is summed up in the expression: "Thou art surely on a plane of sublime morality".

An unsurpassed revolution

Not only do we possess absolutely authentic historical records of the events of the Prophet's life, but the great revolution that was wrought in the wake of his advent is an outstanding broad daylight fact of human history. R. Bosworth

Smith in his Mohammed and Mohammedanism, London, 1874, says:

"By a fortune absolutely unique in history, Muhammad is a threefold founder, of a nation, of an empire, and of a

A threefold revolutionary movement, world-wide in its extent, which changed the history of the world; which in fact was the opening of a new chapter in the world's history; due to which it can be said without exaggeration that history itself in the real sense began, can neither be an insignificant matter to be lightly passed over or obliterated nor yet a fact which can be denied or doubted.

The Prophet's life — events of a human soul

The revolution wrought by the Prophet is unprecedented in the annals of mankind. But what is still more remarkable is that the authentic events of his life history show him to be a human being in every sense of the word. Writes Bosworth Smith (op. cit):

"But looking at the circumstances of the time, at the unbounded reverence of his followers and comparing him with the fathers of the Church or with the medieval saints, to my mind the most miraculous thing about Mohammed is that he never claimed the power of working miracles. Whatever he had said he could do so, his disciples straightaway have seen him do. They could not help attributing to him the miraculous acts which he never did and which he always denied he could do. What more crowning proof of his sincerity is needed? Mohammed, to the end of his life, claimed that title only with which he had begun and which the highest philosophy and the truest Christianity will one day, I venture to believe, agree in yielding to him, that of a Prophet, a very Prophet of God" (italics are mine) (italics are mine).

So also is the verdict of the Qur'an itself on the question of the power of working miracles which are contrary to Divine laws. For instance, in chapter 17:90-93, the demand of the deniers is stated as follows:

"And they say: We will by no means believe in thee, till thou cause a spring to gush forth from the earth for us, or thou have a garden of palms and grapes in the midst of which thou cause rivers to flow forth abundantly, or thou cause the heaven to come down upon us in pieces, as thou thinkest, or bring God and the angels face to face (with us) or thou have a house of gold, or thou ascend into heaven. And we will not believe thy ascending till thou bring down to us a book we can read. Say: Glory be to my Lord! am I aught but a mortal messenger?"

The demanding of such miracles as are against the Divine nature is here rejected outright. The reason given for rejection is worthy of note. It is a Divine law for all those who are mortals, though they be His messengers, not to be able to work such miracles, nay, such performances are against the Divine nature, as the words "Say, Glory to my Lord!" clearly indicate.

Muhammad a mortal humanitarian

Speaking of the spirit of humanitarianism shown by the Prophet, Thomas Carlyle in his famous essay, "Hero as Prophet," in his Heroes and Hero-worship, says:

"They called him a Prophet you say? Why, he stood face to face with them; bare, not enshrined in mystery, visibly clout-

to face with them; bare, not enshrined in mystery, visibly clouting his own cloak, cobbling his own shoes, fighting, counselling, ordering in the midst of them; they must have seen what kind of a man he was, let him be called what you like.

"No emperor with his tiaras was obeyed as this man in a cloak of his own clouting. During the three and twenty years of rough actual trial, I find him something of a hero, necessary for that of itself. His last words are a prayer, a broken ejaculation of a heart struggling up in trembling hope towards its Maker. We cannot say his religion made him worse, it made him

better, good not bad. Generous things are recorded of him, when he lost his daughter¹ the thing he answers is in his own dialect every way sincere, and yet equivalent to that of Christians: The Lord giveth and the Lord taketh away; blessed be the name of the Lord.' He answered in like manner of Seid,² his emancipated well-beloved slave, the second of the believers. Seid had fallen in the war of Tabuc, the first of Mahomet's fighting with the Greeks. Mahomet said, It was well. Seid had done his master's work. Seid had now gone to his Master, it was all well for Seid. And yet Seid's daughter found him weeping over his body; the old grey-haired man, melting in tears! 'What do I see?' said she. 'You see a friend weeping over a friend.' He went out for the last time to the mosque two days before his death. He asked if he had injured any man. If so, then let his own back bear the stripes. He asked if he If so, then let his own back bear the stripes. He asked if he owed any man. A voice answered, 'Yes, me; three dirhams, borrowed on such an occasion.' Mahomet ordered them to be paid. 'Better be in shame now,' said he, 'than at the day of Judgment.' You remember Kadija and the 'No by Allah'.' Traits of this kind show us the genuine man; the brother of us all, brought visible through twelve centuries, the veritable son of our common mother' (italics are mine).

The Qur'an speaks of the Prophet in strains exactly similar to the above. It says:

"Say, I am only a mortal like yourselves, it has been revealed to me that your god is only one God."

On another occasion the Our'an says:

"Say, I do not control benefit or harm for myself except as God pleases. Had I known the unseen, I should have much of good and no evil would touch me. I am but a warner and the giver of good news to a believing people" (7:188).

From the above quotation it is abundantly clear that the life history of the Prophet has been handed down to posterity with the utmost reliability and authenticity such as has not fallen to the lot of any other person's biography. It has been established, and admitted by non-Muslims themselves, that the events of his life, clearly visible after thirteen centuries, show him to be a human being in its truest sense, cherishing within his bosom all the desires and emotions of a man, so that it is possible for his example to generate within other hearts the ambition of following in his footsteps.

Criteria for judging greatness

Having proved that the incidents of the Prophet's life are most trustworthy and that they are events of the life of one who was a human in every respect, we may briefly discuss the criteria for judging the greatness of a man. Here the very first question to be considered should be the motive underlying any act or object. As the Prophet himself has said: "The greatness or otherwise of actions is to be judged on the basis of motives, the kind of urge which prompted their outcome". Was it the promptings of some selfish urge which provoked the action or was it due to some higher urge, such as the love of the Divine Being and the love of His creatures? Another index is the relationship of the person doing an act of sacrifice to the one who is its beneficiary. The greatness of sacrifice is judged in the following order: family, tribe, nation, and humanity at large. An act done in the service of mankind at large without any considerations of earthly connections, or even religious link, is the highest in the scale of sacrifice. Thirdly, we have to see as to what sphere of man, his material, intellectual or spiritual side, or all of these taken together, are benefited. Fourthly, the extent

The reference here appears to be to the death of the Prophet's son,

Abraham. Zaid is spelled by Carlyle as Seid.

³ The reference here is to the great embarrassment of the Prophet on receiving the first Divine revelation and to his devoted wife consoling him with the memorable words, 'No, by God, He will not forsake thee'

of benefaction or the number of persons affected and the time over which its effect lasts have to be considered.

There is another viewpoint from which the greatness of a person has to be judged, the conditions under which he acted. Were the prevailing circumstances favourable or adverse to the aims and objects the man had in view? Again, when he undertook his mission of reform, what was the immediate response? Did his own people readily welcome and accept his calling or bitterly oppose and take an entirely hostile and obstructive line of action against him? Then there is the question of the kind of means and measures adopted to gain the object. A person who uses only fair and high means must be ranked higher than one employing all sorts of measures. Lastly, with what degree of success were his noble efforts attended in the end? In the light of these vital questions, the Prophet's activities may briefly be reviewed. I would confine myself with quoting opinions of non-Muslim Western writers, as their conclusions are not likely to be considered as the outcome of blind admiration or excessive zeal on the part of devout followers:

Sincere sole aim — the truth of Divine unity and its prevalence

Dr. Marcus Dodds writes in his book, Mohammed, Buddha and Christ:

"Other men have been monotheists in the midst of idolaters but no other man has founded a strong and monotheistic religion. The distinction in his case was his resolution that other men should believe. If we ask what it was that made Muhammad aggressive and proselytizing where other men had been content to cherish a solitary faith, we must answer that it was nothing else than the depth and force of his own conviction of truth. . . Who can doubt the earnestness of that search after truth and the living God that drove the affluent merchant from his comfortable home and his fond wife to make his abode for months at a time in the dismal cave of Mount Hira?" (italics are mine).

In Chamber's Encyclopaedia under the heading "Mohammed" it is stated:

"The driving force of his life was his belief in the Unity of Allah and his desire to bring his people to this belief.... He showed deep sincerity and must have been a man of unusual personality and charm, for he not only bound to himself men of different types but also kept their devotion" (italics are mine).

Condition of Arabia and the world at large

What were the conditions when the Prophet stood up with his mission of reformation for the whole of mankind? Sir William Muir, a hostile critic, writes in his *The Life of Mahomet*, London, 1861:

"From time beyond memory, Mecca and the whole Peninsula had been steeped in spiritual torpor. The slight and transient influences of Judaism and Christianity or philosophical inquiry upon the Arab mind had been but as the ruffling here and there of the surface of a quiet lake; all remained still and motionless below. The people were sunk in superstition, cruelty and vice. . . . Their religion was a gross idolatry and their faith was a dark superstitious dread of unseen things. . . . Thirteen years before the Hijra, Mecca lay lifeless in this debased state. What a change had these thirteen years now produced! Jewish truth had long sounded in the ears of the men of Medina; but it was not until they heard the spirit-stirring strains of the Arabian Prophet that they too awoke from their slumber and sprang suddenly into a new and earnest life!" (italics are mine).

Muir's opinion about the Christianity of that time is:

"The Christianity of the seventh century was itself decrepit and corrupt."

J. H. Denison in his book, Emotions as the Basis of Civilization, London, 1928, writes:

"In the fifth and sixth centuries, the civilized world stood on the verge of chaos. The old emotional culture that had made civilization possible, since they had given to men a sense of unity and of reverence for years to construct was on the verge of disintegration, and that mankind was likely to return to that condition of barbarism where every tribe and sect was against the next and law and order were unknown. . . . Civilization, like a gigantic tree whose foliage had over-reached the world, stood tottering . . . rotten to the core" (italics are mine).

And then, speaking of Arabia, he adds:

"It was among these people that the man was born who was to unite the whole known world of the east and south" (italics are mine).

The condition of mankind in general and Arabia in particular at the time of the appearance of the Prophet described in the above quotations, has so tersely and aptly been put in the Qur'an in these words:

"Corruption has appeared in the land and the sea on account of that which men's hands have wrought" (30:41).

Regeneration of the whole of mankind fallen into the deepest depths of degeneration and vice! A stupendous task indeed! Beyond the imagination and reach of human efforts alone!

Bitterest possible opposition and persecution

And yet with the highest and noblest ideal as his aim, in such depressing and dismal conditions, let us discover how the Prophet was received at first by his own people when he called them. Writes Dr. Marcus Dodds (op. cit):

"But is Mohammed in no sense a Prophet? Certainly he had two of the most important characteristics of the prophetic order. He saw the truth about God which his fellow men did not see and he had an irresistible inward impulse to publish this truth. In respect of the latter qualification Mohammed may stand comparison with the most courageous of the heroic Prophets of Israel. For the truth's sake he risked his life, he suffered daily persecution for years and eventually banishment, the loss of property, of the goodwill of his fellow citizens and of the confidence of his friends; he suffered as much as any man can suffer short of death, which he only escaped by flight, and yet he unflinchingly proclaimed his message. No bribe, no threat, no inducement could silence him. "Though they array against me the sun on my right hand and the moon on my left, I cannot renounce my purpose.' And it was this persistency, this belief in his call to proclaim the Unity of God, which was the making of Islam" (italics are mine).

The incident referred to by Dr. Dodds in the above passage happened twice. During the lifetime of the Prophet's protector and uncle, Abu Talib, and again after his demise just before the Flight. One day Abu Talib called the Prophet in order to acquaint the latter with the extent his opposition had reached and asked him to relax somewhat in his denunciations of idols, otherwise it would no longer be possible for him (Abu Talib) to protect the Prophet. At the time of such a great trial of threat and persecution, of losing the protection of his own family and, therefore, of risking his very life, the Prophet replied in the memorable words quoted by Dr. Dodds.

Also, a short time before the Flight a deputation from the Quraysh approached the Prophet with the offer of every worldly attraction and power, to demand only in return abstention from condemnation of idol-worship. This time, instead of threat and persecution, which had not been spared in any form or extent, every earthly allurement was offered. The Prophet responded this time and again with the same remarkable persistence and steadfastness in the words:

"If they place the sun in my right hand and the moon in my left, I would not renounce my mission."

His faith and trust in God

The degree of severity of persecution and the Prophet's helpless condition at his failure in Mecca and then finally at Ta'if have been very well depicted by Muir when he quotes the Prophet's humble submission at that time thus:

"O Lord, I make my complaint unto Thee of my helplessness and frailty and of my insignificance before mankind. But Thou art the Lord of the poor and the feeble and Thou art the Lord. Into whose hands wilt Thou abandon me? Into hands of the strangers that beset me around about? Of the enemy Thou hast given at home to have the mastery over me? . . . I seek for refuge in the light of Thy Countenance" (Life of Mahomet, London, 1861 — italics are mine).

In the struggle which the Prophet had with his own nation, what were the means he employed in order to gain his object? We have to find out if the means like the object itself were absolutely pure and clean, or if he ever resorted to the use of earthly "inferior" means in order to achieve his heavenly and noble end. Let me first of all quote again from that brilliant essay by Thomas Carlyle from his book, Heroes and Hero-worship:

"His household was of the frugalist kind, his common diet barley-bread and water; sometimes for months there was not a fire once lighted in his hearth. They record with just pride that he would mend his own shoes, patch his own cloak. A poor hard-toiling, ill-provided man, careless of what vulgar men toil for. Not a bad man, I should say; something better in him than hunger of any sort or these wild Arab men fighting and jostling three and twenty-years at his hand, in close contact with him, would not have reverenced him so! These were wild men, bursting ever and anon into quarrel, into all kinds of fierce sincerity; without right, without worth and manhood, no man would have commanded them" (italics are mine).

Muhammad ruled human hearts

Bosworth Smith, recalling the incidence of the Quraysh's emissary during the truce of Hudaibiyyah, writes:

"'I have seen him,' said the ambassador sent by the triumphant Quraish to the despised exile at Medina, 'I have seen the Persian Chosroes and the Greek Hercules sitting upon their thrones; but never did I see a man ruling his equals as does Mohammed.'

"Head of the Church as well as of the State, he was Caesar and Pope in one; but he was Pope without the Pope's pretensions, Caesar without the legions of Caesar. Without a standing army, without a bodyguard, without a fixed revenue; if any man had the right to say that he ruled by a right Divine, it was Mohammed, for he had all the power without its instruments and without its supports" (italics are mine).

In Chamber's Encyclopaedia it is stated:

"In his private character he showed amiability, loyalty, tenderness towards his family and a forgiving spirit. He lived at the height of his power in extreme simplicity."

Professor Nicholson says:

""We find in him," writes De Goeje, "that sober understanding which distinguished his fellow tribesmen, dignity, tact and equilibrium; qualities which are seldom found in people of morbid constitution, self-control in no small degree" Circumstances changed him from a prophet to a legislator and a ruler, but for himself he sought nothing beyond the acknowledgment that he was Allah's apostle since this acknowledgment includes the whole of Islam" (A Literary History of the Arabs — italics are mine).

Outward changes made not the slightest variation in him

As pointed out in the above passage, his outward circumstances did change, but did the man himself change inwardly in any respect? Did he change in his way of living, his diet, his household life, his dress or his other

equipment? Did he change in his dealings with his friends and followers? Did he change in his relations with his foes? After having become ruler of Arabia and the beloved leader of the whole nation, the Prophet, as before, never at any one time ate with a full stomach, never slept like a carefree person, and never allowed earthly embellishments to adorn his household, despite the rightful demands of his wives. Outward changes, changes remarkable and the highest possible, from penury and orphanage to kingship and loving leadership, had taken place, and yet the man remained absolutely unchanged and unaffected. It is recorded that often his feet got swollen because of night prayers of longstanding, that he would be seen supporting his stomach with stones because of hunger, that once 'Umar was moved to tears because he saw the marks of a naked matting upon the Prophet's body after resting on it, that during his last illness the Prophet asked 'A'isha if there was any money in the house, and coming to know of it, could take no rest until it had been distributed among the poor. All these happenings took place in Medina when he was its ruler and king! Has the world ever seen another man who passed through such vicissitudes and marvels of life, showed such exemplary morals during all these trials and yet himself remained unchanged? Unchanged towards his Maker, praying with the same fervour, fearing Him with the same humility! Unchanged towards his friends, as loyal and faithful during victory and rule as when in want and destitution! Unchanged against his enemies, for he showed even greater mercy and clemency when powerful than when he was weak! Unchanged even as regard his honour and titles, he claimed the same rank as before — that of being only a mortal and God's messenger. He left no money or estate for his dependants or relatives, he bequeathed nothing to posterity. The kingdom he had acquired was the property of the whole nation, his devoted followers. What abiding spirit did he infuse in the hearts of his faithful friends? Love of God and love and service of His creatures! His most faithful followers and immediate successors have been as selfless, simple, service-loving leaders and emperors as he himself was. Is there another man to equal him?

Assemblage of all excellences

I have to quote again from Bosworth Smith:

"Mohammed did not indeed himself conquer a world, like Alexander or Caesar or Napoleon. He did not himself weld together into a homogeneous whole a vast system of States like Charles the Great. He was not a philosophic king, like Marcus Aurelius, nor a philosopher, like Aristotle or Bacon, ruling by pure reason the world of thought for centuries with a more than kingly power; he was not a legislator for all mankind nor even the highest part of it like Justinian; nor did he cheaply earn the title of great by being the first among rulers to turn, like Constantine, from the setting to the rising sun. He was less indeed in one or two of the elements that go to make up human greatness but he was also greater. Half Christian, half pagan, half civilized, half barbaric, it was given to him in a marvellous way to unite the peculiar excellences of the one with the peculiar excellences of the other" (italics are mine).

Does not the last sentence in the above quotation convey the exact sense of the Persian couplet often quoted by the followers in praise of the Prophet? The couplet rendered into English reads:

"You possess the exquisite beauty of Joseph, the miraculous life-giving power of Jesus as well as the brilliant white hand of Moses. Whatever excellences each one of them possessed, individually, you possess them all combined."

As for the great works in different spheres of human thought and activity enumerated by Bosworth Smith in the

above passage, all these were achieved, and to a greater degree, by the humble disciples and followers of the Prophet, so that not only was he great but he became the teacher and master of the great.

Unparalleled success in world's history

We have now to consider the question of the ultimate result of his efforts. A few of the quotations regarding the admission by non-Muslims of the Prophet's crowning success can be given here. The Encyclopaedia Britannica (11th edition) gave its estimate in the following famous phrase:

"The most successful of all the prophets and religious personalities" (italics are mine).

Once the Daily Express, London, in its issue for 10th November 1925, wrote:

"If a man's greatness is to be judged by the honour accorded to words coming out of his mouth by those who regard them as revealed, then in this respect Mohammed is the greatest man who has appeared in the world" (italics are mine).

In his The Life of Mahomet the Count of Boulain-Villiers writes:

"And yet we may say that no history can boast events that strike the imagination in a more lively manner or can be more surprising in themselves than those we meet with in the lives of the first Musalmans; whether we consider the great chief and his ministers, the most illustrious of men; or whether we take an account of the manners of the several countries he conquered; or observe the courage, virtue and sentiments that equally prevailed among his generals and soldiers" (italics are

Dr. Steingass (quoted in Hughes' Dictionary of Islam) writes the following about the effect produced by the teachings of the Qur'an:

"Here its merits as a literary production, therefore, should perhaps not be measured by some pre-conceived maxims of subjective and aesthetic taste, but by the effects which it pro-

duced in Mohammed's contemporaries and fellow men.

"If it spoke so powerfully and convincingly to the hearts of his hearers as to weld hitherto centrifugal and antagonistic elements into one compact and well-organized body animated by ideas far beyond those which had until now ruled the Arabian mind, then its eloquence was perfect, simply because it created a civilized nation out of savage tribes, and shot a fresh woof into the warp of history" (italics are mine).

H. Hirschfeld in his New Researches, London, 1902, expresses his opinion about the effect of Islam in the following words:

"Never has a people been led more rapidly to civilization such as it was than were the Arabs through Islam" (italics are mine).

The Oxford Junior Encyclopaedia has the following under the heading "Mohammed":

"During the next eighteen years, there began one of the most remarkable expansions of a religious movement ever known in history which eventually carried the new faith as far west as Spain and as far east as Delhi" (italics are mine).

And in Chamber's Encyclopaedia we have under the heading "Islamic Art":

"Within half a century of Mohammed's flight from Mecca in 622 his followers had conquered all these countries, and within a century they had reached the Pyrenees on the west and India on the east" (italics are mine).

Under the heading "Islam" the Oxford Junior Encyclopaedia has the following:

"Yet so stale and degenerate was the world into which

Islam had entered that for a time Arabs did bring with them a new and vigorous life, a new organization of society and a fresh outburst of art and literature. It is said that the institutions created by the Arab Muslims were remarkable for their good sense and humanity and that justice was frequently well administered. Even Jews and Christians, so long as they paid tribute, received the protection of the Islamic State. The Modern World also owes a debt to Islam for keeping alive and fostering the arts and sciences through the Dark Ages in the great centres of Arab civilization at Baghdad, Cairo and Cordova" (italics are mine).

In his Legacy of Islam, Sir Thomas Arnold also writes in the same strain:

"Yet it cannot be denied that while Europe lay for the most part in misery and decay, both materially and spiritually, the Spanish Muslims created a splendid civilization and economic life. Muslim Spain played a decisive part in the development of art, science, philosophy and poetry, and its influence reached even to the highest peaks of the Christian thought of the thirteenth century, to Thomas Aquainas and Dante. Then if ever Spain was the 'torch of Europe'.

"Cordova in the tenth century was the most civilized city in Europe, the wonder and admiration of the world.

"Nevertheless his (Ibn Sina) influence on European medicine has been overwhelming" (italics are mine).

Practicability and selfless service of Islamic faith

Professor Browne in his Literary History of Persia, Vol. I, p. 188, opines as to the success and strength of Islam in the following manner:

"The strength of Islam lies in its simplicity and its adaptability, its high yet perfectly attainable ethical standard. The Christian ethical standard we must admit is higher, but almost beyond the reach of the individual, quite beyond the reach of the State. The ideal Muslim State is conceivable and was actually realized, or very nearly so, by Mohammed's immediate successors, the four orthodox Caliphs" (italics are

Another writer (vide Crawford, Vol. II, p. 262), speaking of the causes of Muslim conquests, states:

"They did not come as conquerors like Spaniards in the sixteenth century or use the sword as an instrument of conversion; nor did they arrogate to themselves the privileges of a superior and dominant race so as to degrade and oppress the original inhabitants, but coming simply in the guise of traders they employed all their superior intelligence and civilization in the service of their religion rather than as a means towards their personal aggrandisement and the amassing of the wealth" (italics are mine).

The Holy Our'an a standing miracle

Employing the purest and cleanest of means, the Prophet did achieve a marvel in being successful in elevating the most debased and downtrodden humanity to the highest pinnacle of greatness and glory in the shortest possible period. He stands at the height of greatness, not only because he displays a perfect and high model in one or two moral traits but because having passed through all the stages of change and progress to which human life is subject he has shown perfection in each and every spiritual and moral characteristic. He was not only himself perfect but he also this is his other exclusive privilege - made those who came in contact with him perfect; he was able to create a whole nation imbued with moral perfection. Has there been another man who was able to achieve the moral perfection of a whole nation? As the Qur'an has so tersely spoken of the functions of the Prophet:

"He it is Who raised amongst the illiterate a messenger from amongst them, who recites our messages to them, purifies them and teaches them the Book and the wisdom, although they were before in manifest error."

And then it is added:

"And also those from among them who have not yet joined them. He is the Mighty, the Wise" (62:2, 3).

His own living contact with his contemporaries was the source of their illumination and revelation. This spiritual influence has, however, not ceased to work after his death. But he is the ever-living prophet, as his high example of life and teachings, with his spiritual influence, are ever and anon at work. Let me first quote a few opinions about the unique and sursurpassed teachings of the Holy Qur'an.

"That the best Arab writers have never succeeded in producing anything equal in merit to the Quran itself is not surprising" (Palmer's Introduction to Frederick Township) prising" (Palmer's Introduction to English Translation of the Koran — italics are mine).

"The Quran is unapproachable as regards convincing power, eloquence and even composition" (Hirschfield, New Researches

- italics are mine).

George Sale also in the Preliminary Discourse to his Translation of the Koran, London, 1867, avers:

"It is confessedly the standard of the Arabic tongue."

And again he states:

"The style of the Koran is generally beautiful and fluent . . . and in many places, especially where the majesty and attributes of God are described, sublime and magnificent" (italics are mine).

Bosworth-Smith opines:

"It is the one miracle claimed by Mohammed — his standing miracle as he called it — and a miracle indeed it is" (italics are mine).

Goethe, the well-known German philosopher-poet and

"However often we turn to it, at first disgusting us each time afresh, it soon attracts, astounds, and in the end enforces

our reverence.

"Its style is in accordance with its contents, and aim is stern, grand, terrible, ever and anon truely sublime. Thus this book will go on exercising through all ages a most potent influence" (italics are mine).

Islamic spirit ever and anon fresh and green

The teachings of Islam are always available to the world in the pure and protected pages of the Qur'an. The spiritual influence of the Prophet is no less active and dynamic, in raising his followers to spiritual eminence and perfection after his death than during his very lifetime. Thus these two distinct sources continue to illumine the hearts of the believers.

Distinctive characteristics

There are several distinguishing features in which the Prophet stands unique. Briefly these may now be summed up as follows:

- (1) World conditions in general and the national conditions in Arabia in particular were the worst possible at the time of the Prophet's advent. It is admitted even by hostile critics that the civilization was heading to wrack and ruin. Had the Prophet not appeared to reform the world, it would have sunk into barbarism and degeneration.
- (2) The Prophet had to face the severest possible persecution from his own people for over a decade. No kind of oppressive measure was spared against him and no allurement was there that was not offered to him. But he remained steadfast and unshaken in his mission.
 - (3) Outward circumstances changed for him from a

helpless destitute to a mighty monarch, from an impecunious orphan to an overlord of a kingdom, from a vanquished person to a powerful victor and beloved leader. He, however, showed not the slightest change. When poor, he said he did not love worldly pelf and power; then he was given possession of the treasures and he proved his saying to be true by making not the slightest change in his mode of living. When weak and helpless, persecuted and tortured, he made the claim that to forgive was better than wreaking vengeance. He later became victor and powerful over his persecutors, and established the truth of his claim by a general amnesty; he pardoned one and all and said:

"No blame or retribution on you this day."

- (4) He had to pass through every kind of trial and tribulation, temptation and allurement. With an intense faith and remarkable steadfastness he remained unmoved. At one time of temptation he said he would not swerve from his purpose one inch even though the sun and moon were placed in his hands. He spurned every offer. And yet when all the resources of a whole country and nation came into his possession at that time of great trial, the Prophet did not in fact deviate from his ultimate mission of worshipping God and serving humanity at large. His is a life of the assemblage of all virtues and every excellence has seen its full perfection in him.
- (5) Not only was his own life an example and model of perfection, but he made his companions' lives also perfect, so that when he reformed his own nation, the latter in turn reformed the whole of humanity.
- (6) The sole cause of the success of the Prophet was the strength of his own conviction. The veracity of the Divine unity, the truth of Divine revelation and of God's communion with himself, had illumined his noble heart and his whole existence with such forceful resplendence that it was impossible for those who came into contact with him not to become affected by that light. His pure love of God and his utterly selfless love of humanity were the great driving forces and were the sole cause of his unique success and greatness.
- (7) His life events have been handed down to posterity with a precision and authenticity as has never been the case with any other Divine reformer.
- (8) The events in the life of the Prophet are such that are natural to any human being. There is nothing in them mysterious or supernatural in the sense in which the narratives of other God-sent personages are related.
- (9) The great success which the Prophet attains is so revolutionizing and widespread a phenomenon that even the opponents are obliged to admit it.
- (10) He has brought a book of Divine teachings which for thirteen centuries has remained not only pure but the like of which no one has been able to produce, despite its challenge.
- (11) The Prophet is the last in the line of the prophets because it is his person which is now the centre and focus of spiritual blessings on the one hand and of the spiritual unity of mankind on the other. He is now the only prophet who is living in the sense that it is only his spiritual influence which continues to work. It is only through his perfect following and through his spiritual contact that one can inherit the true blessings of prophethood. Prophethood has terminated with his advent, but he continues ever and anon to be the fountainhead of all blessings and Divine favours.

THE "MAULANA" AND THE WEST

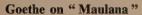
Translations of Maulana's poems into European languages

By Dr. Annemarie Schimmel

An artist's impression of the Maulana Jalal al-Din Rumi (d. 1273 C.E.)

This miniature portrait of Rumi, dating from the 15th/16th century, is preserved in the Topkapi Museum at Istanbul, Turkey

In Turkey Rumi is best known by the honorific appellation of "Maulana" — our master



Goethe in his Noten und Abhandlugen zum West-Ostlichen Diwan wrote: "Rumi was not at ease on the problematic foundations of reality, and tried to find a solution of the mysteries of the esoteric and actual phenomena through spiritual and intellectual tracts. Therefore, his works may be considered as a collection of new mysteries wanting fresh analyses and interpretations. His escape into the philosophy of wahdat wujud is because of this reason. This is an inconclusive method and is like gaining and losing everything at one and the same time, which means nothing but an ultimate nullity. It is somewhat doubtful how to give an expression to this inconclusiveness either in prose or in verse."

Goethe became acquainted with the works of the Maulana through an anthology of Persian literature in Germany by Joseph von Hammer in 1818, entitled Geschichte der Schönen Redekünste Persians. The Shaikh Sa'di (d. 1292 C.E.) was the first Persian poet whose translated works appeared in Europe in 1652, to be followed by a translation of the poems of Hafiz Shirazi (d. 1388 C.E.) a hundred years later. The Maulana's works remained untranslated into any European language until the time of Goethe. In the above-mentioned anthology of von Hammer some fifty selections appeared from the Diwan-i-Kabir and The Mathnawi of the Maulana. While these translations were accurate, they failed to reflect the poetic beauty of the originals. Goethe read Hammer's Anthology with much interest, as he did Hammer's translation of the Diwan of Hafiz; but, while he was impressed by Hafiz, he failed to appreciate the Maulana, because of his lack of sympathy for mysticism.



Rückert's translations of Rumi's ghazals

In the same decade a young German Orientalist, Freidrich Rückert (1788-1866), who was studying Persian under the tuition of Hammer in Vienna, translated the poems of the Maulana and was able to convey into German the true spirit of mysticism. Jalal al-Din had dedicated his poems to Shams al-Din. Rückert dedicated his own translations of the Maulana to the Maulana, the spiritual sun of the East. Rückert used the form of ghazal in German literature for the first time and was able to capture the vibrating lyric of the Maulana's couplets, the depth of emotion, the love and the nostalgia of the great mystic. Rückert, sometimes inspired by a hemistich of the Maulana, sang a new ghazal, and sometimes revised the unpoetic translation of Hammer and made a deserving rendering of the Maulana's poetry into German. Rückert's translations were rendered into English within the present century.

Europe took a great interest in Eastern culture during the first few decades of the last century. This interest was for the culture rather than the languages of the East. A German theologian, Tholuck, learnt Arabic and Persian to study mysticism. He very carefully analysed the *Mathnawi* and wrote an essay, not altogether unbiased, on the subject. In this he extracts the Maulana's idea of prayer, "I say labbayk a hundred times each time you utter Allah!" This was greatly acclaimed by contemporary scholars such as E. Lehmann, N. Söderblom, G. van der Leeuw and F. Heiler in their exposition of the philosophy of prayer, while Tholuck himself interpreted and criticized the idea as dangerous and almost leading to pantheism.

Some recent translations into German and English

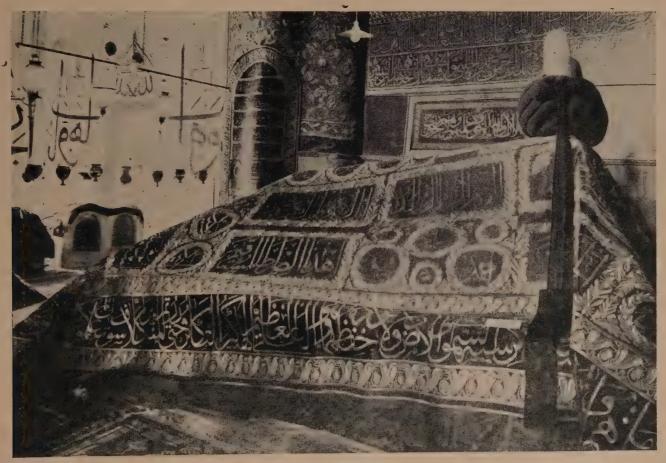
In the middle of the nineteenth century the interest for the world of Islam increased in the West, and new texts and translations were published, and along with these publications the Maulana's works in part appeared in German and English. In England, Whitfield was studying the Mathnawi, and his translation aroused some interest in the spheres of Orientalism and theology. A few years ago in Germany G. Rosen published a translation of the first few books of the Mathnawi in verse with a useful introduction and explanatory notes. However, Rosen was not so successful as Rückert in capturing the true spirit of the Maulana, nor Rosenzweig-Schwannau, an Austrian Orientalist, in his beautifully produced Selections from the Maulana's Diwan. Both Rosen and Rosenzweig-Schwannau were led by the tastes prevailing in most of the nineteenth century translations. While this is quite natural, it must also be accepted that a good translation must reflect the beauty and the meaning of the original without falling under the influence of time and place factors. In these translations the art, the rich symbolism, and the mysticism of the Maulana, is evident, but the reader will be unable to feel the secret that makes the Maulana the Maulana.

A critical edition of the works of an author or a poet is necessary to create a proper understanding. R. A. Nicholson, a British Orientalist, who died in 1946, published such an edition of the Maulana. Nicholson in 1898 published some forty ghazals from the Diwan-i-Shams-i-Tabrizi, in which he

included some comprehensive and very valuable information regarding the history of mysticism and the characteristics of the Maulana. This great scholar strove continuously for forty years to introduce the history of mysticism to Europe. It is to the credit of Nicholson that both the West and the East gained in eight volumes a critical edition of the *Mathnawi*. This edition is a foundation which cannot be ignored for the study of the Maulana. We hope that in the future an edition will appear for the *Diwan Kabir* as well.

Among some other works in English on the Maulana, the Ruba'iyat of the Maulana was published recently by Professor A. J. Arberry, an Englishman specializing in mysticism. The writer of the article also published its translation in verse under the title of Die Bildersprache Jalaleddin Rumis. On the subject of mysticism the Maulana is universally recognized as one of the greatest authorities.

In this connection I should like to illustrate the influence of the Maulana by a striking and peculiar example from East Germany. An old artist there, without having any knowledge of Persian, but knowing the Maulana through German translations, wrote very beautiful ghazals inspired by the Maulana. This is a very encouraging sign for those who love the Maulana, because it is remarkable that the flame of the eternal love lit by the Maulana some 700 years ago should radiate itself and warm the spirit of humanity which yearns for love and affection in a territory which is still suffering the aftermath of the war.



A view of the tomb of the Maulana Jalal al-Din Rumi at Konya, Turkey.

The mausoleum of this great Muslim mystic of immortal memory is visited by thousands every year.



The famous leader of the Egyptian Feminist Movement, Madame Huda Sha'rawi (seated in the centre, second row), with some young Egyptian women.

Madame Huda Sha'rawi, who died in 1947, was pre-eminently responsible for the social revolution one notices amongst women of the Middle East.

SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN THE ARAB COUNTRIES

Muslim Arab Women on the March

By Edward 'Atiyah

The impact of the West and the example of Turkey have brought about the social revolution in Arab countries

A change in social conditions, fundamental enough to be called a revolution, is taking place today in many of the Arab countries. This was the strongest impression I came back with from a recent visit to the Sudan, Egypt, Jordan, Iraq and Syria.

This revolution, in its principal features, is similar to that which has taken place in England and the West generally during the last hundred years. It is a process of transformation from feudalism or uncontrolled capitalism (or a combination of the two) to social democracy and the Welfare State. It involves the emancipation of the underprivileged — workers, peasants and women — and the curtailment of the powers and advantages of the over-privileged — landowners, employers and the male sex.

Both evolutionary and revolutionary influences, slow gestation and sudden shock, have combined to bring about this change in the Arab social scene. The first and most sustained of these influences has, of course, been the impact of Western civilization. Western teaching and example have, in a general way, been acting on the Arab mind for a hundred and fifty years — ever since Napoleon invaded Egypt, and

French, American and British schools were founded there and in the Lebanon. Even though Western imperialism, in the form of British or French rule, provoked a strong reaction of resistance in the Arab world, the nationalist movements that fought this imperialism, whether in Egypt and the Sudan, Palestine, Iraq or Syria, were largely inspired by Western concepts and ideologies. These were at first the concepts of European nineteenth century political philosophy—national independence, the sovereign state and liberal democracy. Later, however, as European thought and practice evolved, whether along Marxist or social-democratic lines, the ideal of social reform began to make its impact on Arab society, where the need for such reform was imperative.

The example of Turkey was another of those long-term stimuli that acted powerfully on the Arab mind in the period between the two wars. In Turkey, the Arabs saw an Oriental and Muslim nation, with which they had been closely associated for many centuries, transform itself into a modern, progressive State in a few short years. And they saw this modern State, which had abolished the veil and emancipated women, occupying a respected position in the world society of nations.

Under these two influences social conditions in the

Arab countries had already begun to change considerably in the inter-war period; and as was natural, ways of thought were changing even more quickly than social conditions. But the process was still one of slow evolution rather than revolution. More and more Muslim girls were being educated. In Egypt and Palestine, and to a lesser extent in Iraq — but not yet in Syria - an increasing number of middle and upper class Muslim women were appearing in public unveiled; but they were still a small minority. By and large the old way of life was still maintaining itself. Nor was any appreciable advance made towards improving the lot of the worker and the peasant. Indeed the gulf between rich and poor seemed to be as great as ever, and although the social conscience of the educated class was beginning to feel uneasy, and even to protest, it lacked as yet the power to compel Governmental action. Moreover, until complete independence was achieved, the struggle for it, the conflict with the ruling foreign power, provided every Arab government with a paramount goal to which everything else was considered subsidiary; and with an emotional appeal which helped to unite temporarily all classes and to deflect attention from social injustice and the need for internal reform.

The loss of Palestine awakened the educated Arabs to their weakness and the backwardness of Arab society

With the achievement of independence, the foreign target against which emotional nationalism had been mobilized for over twenty-five years disappeared. There was a vacuum which could only be filled by governments with positive internal policies — policies of social reform and economic development. And precisely in this situation the Arabs had an experience which devastatingly convinced them of their need for such reform and construction. This experience was their defeat by the Jews in 1948 and their loss of Palestine. The general reaction of the educated and politically conscious Arabs to this calamity was reflected in a pamphlet entitled The Meaning of the Disaster, by Dr. Costi Zurayk, Vice-President of the American University of Beirut, and in a book entitled The Lesson of Palestine by Musa 'Alami, the most distinguished and progressive of the Palestine Arab leaders. Both writers had the realism and the courage to admit that although the international scales were heavily weighted against the Arabs in the Palestine conflict, the Arab defeat was in the first place due to the weaknesses and backwardness of Arab society. Both writers - but 'Alami at much greater length — analysed these weaknesses with complete candour and urged the modernizing of Arab life in every field by a well thought out programme of liberalsocialist reforms - redistribution of land, higher taxation on the larger incomes, economic development in the interests of the mass of the people, the provision of essential social services, and in general the reduction of the gulf between rich and poor and the raising of the standards of living of the workers and peasants.

Zurayk and 'Alami were thinkers who possessed only the power of influencing others by their thought; but now a new agent endowed with the power of direct execution appeared on the scene in the person of the reforming military ruler. The Syrian and the Egyptian armies had returned from Palestine bitterly disillusioned and burning with a sense of revolt against the corrupt civilian politicians of the past and the whole social order which they represented and maintained. Syria was the first to experience the effects of this army revolt, and though the military régime that was established in 1949 has now — for the time being at least — come to an end with the restoration of parliamentary democracy, there is no doubt that the officers' intervention has left its mark on the social reform movement in Syria, particularly

with regard to the emancipation of women. To quote one striking example, it was Hosni al-Za'im, the first of Syria's three military dictators, that gave women the vote, and so led all the Arab countries in this respect.

The astonishing difference between the present and the past in regard to the emancipation of Muslim women in the Arab World

In Syria

It is indeed in Syria that one sees the most revolutionary and astonishing difference between the present and the past — the quite recent past — in regard to the emancipation of the Muslim woman in the Arab world. Fifteen years ago it was impossible to see a Muslim woman unveiled in the streets of Damascus — at that time the most conservative Islamic city in the Middle East, if we exclude Arabia proper. Even in their houses very few Muslim leaders would appear before strangers in those days. I remember being taken in 1942 to call on a Muslim family in Damascus, whose daughters had become emancipated enough to take part in mixed society. I went on that visit with a sense of adventure and privilege. In March of this year, on my first evening in Damascus, I was taken by my host to a reception given by the Rotary Club. I found there about 150 Muslim ladies, in gowns of the latest fashion, mixing with their Christian sisters and with the men present on a footing of complete equality and without any embarrassment. An equally startling progress is to be seen at the Syrian University in Damascus, where the number of women undergraduates, mostly Muslim, has risen from 68 in 1945 to 929 (out of a total membership of about 5,000) in 1955! I visited the university several times and saw the men and women students sharing it in every sense as equals. They attend the same lectures. They have a common union and restaurant. They walk about the university grounds together discussing their subjects and the various features of their academic life. One of the professors, himself a Christian, told me something very encouraging. He said that when the question of admitting women students to full association with the men students at the university had been first mooted, many people had misgivings about the consequences, doubting whether Muslim young men, unused hitherto to mixed society, would be able to adapt themselves satisfactorily to the presence of women in the university. These misgivings, my informant assured me, had been entirely allayed after the first few months of this co-educational experiment. The situation was from the first day accepted as perfectly natural and there had never been a moment's embarrassment. This, in Damascus, was indeed a revolution.

In Iraq and Jordan

In Baghdad too the emancipation of the Muslim woman had gone forward at a remarkable pace and was creating a new kind of society both in domestic and public life. I found on my visit to the Iraqi capital a vigorous feminist movement expressing itself in manifold activities. There too the veil was disappearing and the women were coming out of their seclusion to receive the highest education which the country can provide, to enter the professions, to work in offices, to organize charitable societies. There is a Government women's hospital in Baghdad today, the head of which is a lady doctor. Even the diplomatic service in Iraq has been opened to women, and a Muslim lady has represented her country at the Iraqi Embassy in Washington and at the United Nations.

A sign of the times is the recent marriage of the King of Jordan to a cousin of his who after being educated at Cambridge had gone to teach at the university of Cairo.

There was much satisfaction in Jordan at the announcement of the king's engagement to such a highly educated and emancipated woman, and still more satisfaction when the princess, on her arrival at 'Amman from Cairo, drove away fron the airport in an open car and unveiled. To realize the full significance of this event one must remember that only five years ago Jordan was ruled by the late King 'Abdullah who, despite many virtues, was extremely reactionary in his views on sex matters and often intervened in a high-handed manner to enforce the seclusion of women and the wearing of the veil.

In the Sudan

Even in the Sudan, which is not so advanced socially as the Arab countries of the Fertile Crescent, there is striking evidence to show that the emancipation of women is under way. When I was there last January I heard a lot about the Government secondary school for girls in Omdurman. I asked if I might visit it, and found that there was no objection at all to my doing so. Some of the senior girls still wore a shawl or scarf round their heads, but nothing suggestive of a veil; and many wore nothing at all on their heads. They gave me an unembarrassed, friendly welcome and even allowed me to take photographs of them — a thing which ten years ago would have been unthinkable. At the University College of Khartoum there are now seventeen girls (though not all Muslim). But two Muslim girls have already graduated as doctors, and two or three are receiving university education in England. Only a small beginning, but as the Arabic proverb says, "A flood begins with a few drops," and these drops, ten years ago, could not have fallen, so dry and unpromising was the sky from which they have now come. More revolutionary still was something that happened in Khartoum just before I visited it at the beginning of 1955. The Sudanese feminist organization (and the fact that there is already such a thing is portentous enough) wanted to give a ball in order to raise funds for financing its various activities. There was an outcry from the diehards against this unheard-of audacity of the women. The feminist leaders, however, stood their ground and held the

ball, though they did not themselves dance; the dancers came from the foreign communities resident in the Sudan. I had no doubt, however, when I heard the story, that in five or six years' time Sudanese girls would be seen on the dancing floor itself!

Altogether I came back from the Middle East with the firm conviction that the Muslim Arab women were on the march, and that nothing could stop them now. Their emancipation is going to bring about a much more radical revolution in the Arab way of life than has been caused in Western society by the emancipation of its women, since in the West the sexes had never been segregated, and the women had always played a part in social life, even when they did not enjoy the political and legal rights or the educational and economic opportunities which are theirs today.

In Egypt

I have not mentioned Egypt in this summary of observations, not because its women are not on the march too, but rather because they have been on the march for a longer time, so that what one sees there, in this connection, is not so new or startling.

In Egypt, however, one sees other aspects of the social revolution in their most striking form. Here it is the emancipation of the workers and peasants that arrests the observer's attention. By the law limiting the amount of land that any one person can own to 200 acres, the present régime in Egypt has struck decisively at the old feudal order. Similarly, by abolishing the Shari'ah Courts (though not Shari'ah law itself, which will continue to be administered in the civil courts in matters of personal status) the Egyptian military government would seem to have taken a long step towards that secularisation of the State which Kemal Ataturk accomplished in Turkey, and which many Arab thinkers today believe must be brought about in the Arab States, if they are to adjust themselves successfully to the conditions of life in the modern world.

Thus in every fundamental respect Arab life is breaking out of the medieval framework that had contained it with extraordinary rigidity until only a few decades ago.

DOCUMENTATION:

THE ARAB PLIGHT IN THE HOLY LAND

INTRODUCTION

In a matter as controversial as the Palestine problem, it is always easy to lose sight of fundamentals. Partisanship and propagandistic misrepresentation, argumentative confusion of issues and the injection of extraneous considerations, charged emotions and misguided sentiments have often militated against clarity and adequacy in the understanding of this problem.

In an effort to make a fresh start, let the reader go back some forty years in the history of the Holy Land. It had a population overwhelmingly Arab. Their national identity, and their social, economic and cultural life were indistinguishable from those of their fellow Arabs in adjacent lands. But they were soon fated to see the other Arab peoples proceed, one after the other, through struggle

and strife, to the enjoyment of independence and national self-determination, while they themselves were to be dispersed and uprooted from their ancestral homes and their cherished land.

Even the gradual progress toward the enjoyment of democratic institutions of self-government were to be denied them under the Mandate. According to the subsequent decree of the United Nations an Arab State in a small part of Palestine was to be established. That decree, however, was to be voided by the swift progress of events, and the majority of Palestine's Arabs were to experience the sad fate of the displaced, the Stateless, the jobless and landless, while the remainder were to experience the equally sad fate of second-class citizens. second-class citizens.

Of the inhabitants of Palestine on the eve of World War I, the large majority were Arabs (Christians and Muslims), while a very small minority of about 50,000 were of Jewish faith.

Most of these Jews have lived in Palestine for centuries, and had enjoyed there — as in other Arab lands — as secure and unmolested a life as their co-religionists had enjoyed in the most tolerant of Western countries.

The remaining Jews had come into the country since the latter part of the nineteenth century, largely to escape persecution in Europe. They had clustered together in settlements of their own, yet the reception which the Arabs had accorded them had been hearty. Indeed, even after the so-called Second Alivah (i.e., second immigration wave) of the first years of the twentieth century, which had been promoted by the newly-initiated Zionist movement with the objective of establishing a "national home" in Palestine, the Jewish settlers continued to receive a hospitable welcome. The situation began to change only when Zionists decided to dispense with and boycott Arab labour, as the revealing reminiscences of Mr. Ben-Gurion, recently republished in his Rebirth and Destiny of Israel, candidly admit.

From that point on, especially after the announcement of the Balfour Declaration, the Arabs came to see in the expanding ranks of Jewish settlers a threat to their own national existence. Declarations like Dr. Weizmann's statement in 1919 — that the purpose of Zionism was that "Palestine would ultimately become as Jewish as England is English" — served only to underline the threat and to convince even those Arabs who had preferred to give Zionism the benefit of the doubt of the basic incompatibility between Arab national aspirations and the objectives of the Zionist movement.

The history of the succeeding decades — 1920 to 1948 — is a story of persistent Arab struggle for survival and dignity. For the Arabs of Palestine had to face, at one and the same time, the

might of the British Empire, on the one hand, and, on the other, the organized financial, political, propagandistic and military power of the Zionist internationals.

The Arab was being systematically dispossessed. His land was purchased, "sometimes through straw men, sometimes by bribes," as Dr. Weizmann confesses, and, between baksheesh and an infinite variety of subterfuges, Zionist colonies were constantly being created and thus he was barred from work on land purchased or otherwise acquired by Zionist bodies. Against his wish, his country was opening its doors to ever-increasing hordes of Zionist immigrants, far beyond its normal absorptive capacity.

As a person, he was being subjected to an attitude which a former American missionary, Dr. Millar Burrows, once described as "at its worst... that of our western frontiersmen who said that the only good Indian was a dead Indian... at its best... patronizing and paternalistic". As early as 1918 Mr. William Yale, special agent for the United States State Department in the area, spoke of the hatred aroused by those Zionists "who come to Palestine, declaring the country to be theirs and acting as if such were the case".

The Arab's constant demands for independence were denied pending the transformation of the Jewish population into a majority. His revolts against foreign rule often met the combined resistance of British and Zionist military forces, with the result that, although not less ready for self-government than his brethren across the frontiers, he alone was to remain hopelessly struggling for national freedom.

Sad as his situation was under the Mandate, the Arab of Palestine was eventually to encounter a more tragic fate. It came shortly after World War II and the establishment of the new world organization. For the establishment of Israel carried in its train unforeseen misery for the Arabs of the Holy Land.

II. THE FATE OF THE ARABS OF PALESTINE

Let us examine now three aspects of the plight of the Arabs of Palestine during and since the establishment of Israel: first, the fate of the Arabs who were expelled from their homes: secondly, the fate of the Arabs who, while living under the control of one of the Arab States close to the frontiers established by the Armistice Agreements, have been subjected to military raids launched by Israel; and, last but not least, the fate of those Arabs who continued to live in Israeli-held territories.

Between the beginning of the withdrawal of British Forces from Palestine and the signing of the armistice agreements, more than 1,000,000 Arabs from Palestine were expelled from their homes into adjacent Arab States. Zionist terrorist groups, acting at times with the concurrence of the central Zionist authority (as in the case of Dair Yaseen) and at times on their own authority, raided and massacred the population of defenceless Arab villages; and the Haganah, operating in other regions, followed the same practice. As a result of these well-publicized raids and massacres, Arab villagers started fleeing their homes in groups upon the approach — or threatened approach — of Zionist forces; while town populations started evacuating after the Irgun-perpetrated atrocities in Jaffa gave the Arabs a foretaste of the fate that would befall them were they to fall victims to the Zionist conqueror.

No single aspect of the Palestine problem has been the subject of as much distortion by hostile propaganda as the question of the refugees, of whom it has been said, time and time again, that they left their homes "at the behest of their leaders". The evidence in the records of the United Nations and in the testimony of neutral observers, however, is overwhelmingly against this incredible charge. Suffice it here to quote the renowned historian, Arnold Toynbee, who wrote in Volume VIII of his monumental work, Study of History:

"If the heinousness of sin is to be measured by the degree to which the sinner is sinning against the light that God has vouchsafed to him, the Jews had even less excuse in 1948 for evicting Palestinian Arabs from their homes than Nebuchadnezzar and Titus and Hadrian and the Spanish and Portuguese inquisition had for uprooting, persecuting, and exterminating Jews in Palestine and elsewhere at diverse times in the past. In 1948 the Jews knew, from personal experience, what they were doing; and it was their supreme tragedy that the lesson learnt

by them from their encounter with the Nazi German Gentiles should have been not to eschew but to imitate some of the evil deeds that the Nazis had committed against the Jews."

* * * *

The Arabs living across the Armistice-established demarcation lines, in Jordanian or Egyptian-held territory, have been leading a nightmarish life since the formal conclusion of full-scale hostilities. Raids into their villages, accompanied by slaughtering in cold blood, looting, and large-scale damage to their properties, have been continuously taking place. Some of these raids have been made by para-military groups, by armed settlers along the frontiers, or by members of terrorist organizations. Others, however, have been planned, organized and launched by the regular armed forces of the State of Israel.

The competent United Nations authority on the spot — the Chief of Staff of the Truce Supervisory Organization — has reported to the Security Council on different occasions that Israel has been condemned for such raids no less than twenty times by the Mixed Armistice Commissions. Only the most glaring of such raids — Qibya, Nahhalin or Gaza — have come to the attention of world public opinion; the others, although causing lesser casualties, have been equally the result of planned aggression by the State of Israel. (No Arab State has ever been condemned by any United Nations organ for having planned, organized or launched a raid on Israeliheld territory.)

In addition to raids into territories outside Israel, Israeli authorities have also carried out systematic campaigns of expulsion of Arabs residing in the demilitarized zones established by the Armistice agreements. Thousands of Arabs were thus expelled into Egyptian-held territory in the autumn of 1950 and the summer of 1953, and into Syrian territory in mid-1951.

* * * *

The third facet of the plight of the Arabs of the Holy Land, pertaining to the status of those Arabs who remained on Israeli-held territory, has been less publicized than the other two — largely owing to the difficulties which Israeli authorities place in the way

of the communications of these Arabs with the rest of the world. Fortunately, however, some neutral observers have occasionally succeeded in penetrating the Israeli "iron curtain". From the reports

of such neutral observers (mostly of Jewish faith), and from the study of Israeli legislation, a fairly adequate appraisal of the situation and the status of Israel's Arab minority may now be made.

III. VIOLATION OF BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS

The United Nations resolution had envisaged Arab and Jewish States in which the rights of Jews and Arabs respectively would be guaranteed and observed. Specific provisions to this effect had been included in the Partition Resolution.

In direct violation of the elementary principles of human rights, and of the specific provisions of the Partition Resolution, the 175,000-odd Arabs of the Holy Land who had stayed behind after the expulsion of the greater majority of their fellow countrymen have been subjected to patent discrimination, in law as well as in practice. This discrimination is in sharp contrast to the oftrepeated assurances of Zionist leaders prior to the establishment of Israel, as well as to the relevant statements in Israel's Proclamation of Independence.

The oppressive and discriminatory policy which the Israeli Government has systematically adopted towards the Arabs under its control manifests itself in civil, personal and political rights, economic, social and cultural rights, religious rights, and property rights, as the following paragraphs will show. But perhaps as important as the official, governmental discrimination is the popular and unofficial persecution of the Arabs in Israeli-held territories. Thus Mr. Hal Lehrman speaks of the need for the Israeli Government "to protect them (the Arabs) against the hostility of certain Jewish elements, particularly those veterans who return to a housing shortage after military service against the Arabs, and those immigrants who exchange a European DP camp for an Israeli transit camp". And Mr. John Cogley makes a clear distinction between the protective provisions of the law and the "undercurrent of ill-feeling" — which is "not a matter of law" but rather a "question of atmosphere". Mr. Cogley also emphasizes the failure of the Israeli authorities to curb terrorists and extremists, whose hostility to the Arabs often expresses itself in outrageous acts. He says:

"No one in authority in Israel has proposed that these murderous private citizens be tracked down and punished. As is true in the earlier case of the frightful Deir Yassin massacre, and in the killing of the United Nations' mediator, Count Bernadotte, 'terrorists' have gone scot-free again; worst of all, apparently no one in authority is even vaguely interested in apprehending them."

Concerning the official policy and actions of the Government, the following facts, based on the testimony of fact-finding visitors, may be established.

Civil, personal and political rights: The nationality law of 1952 regulates the granting of Israeli citizenship. It openly applies two yardsticks: one to Jews, and the other to Arabs. Citizenship is automatically applied to Jews, upon whom the unrestricted "right" of entry into Israel is conferred by the Law of Return of 1950. On the other hand, Arabs can receive citizenship by virtue of residence, naturalization or birth, and in each of these methods, special conditions have to be fulfilled.

Thus, in order to obtain nationality, an Arab must have been included in the official register before January 1952 (although whole Arab villages had been bypassed when the authorities carried out the 1952 registration of the inhabitants); must prove continuous residence in Israeli-held territory since the establishment of the State; must have a knowledge of Hebrew and, finally, must be approved by the Ministry of the Interior as worthy of Israeli citizenship. It has been estimated that no more than 10 per cent of the Arabs of Israel would qualify for citizenship under this law, on which William Zukerman commented in his Jewish Newsletter:

"Whether the figure is 10 per cent or 25 per cent, the nationality law, in principle, sharply discriminates against one section of the population as compared with the other. Jews, the majority of whom are immigrants of a few years' residence in Israel, may become citizens automatically. They may even hold dual citizenship. . . . But the 170,000 Arabs in Israel, who have lived on that soil for centuries and have never left it, are limited in their rights to acquire citizenship. A more flagrant case of discrimination is hard to find even in the annals of the chauvinistic twentieth century."

Even those Arabs who do obtain Israeli citizenship, however,

are distinguished officially as "Class B" citizens. Mr. Cogley writes:

"They have to carry a special Class B identification card, which clearly marks them off as non-Jewish Israeli citizens at all times."

Referring to this discrimination, Dr. Harold E. Fay wrote in the Christian Century:

"Israeli citizens carry an identity card bearing a number. On the cards carried by Arabs, the number is followed by the letter B. That small letter sometimes makes a big difference."

Furthermore, the areas in which Arabs are concentrated have been placed under military rule in which the Ministry of Defence exercises authority. Galilee, the Negev, and the so-called Little Triangle, with a population of 145,000 Arabs (out of a total Arab population of 175,000) are thus under direct military rule.

Writes Don Peretz: "The residents of these governorates live within a matrix of legal restrictions which fix their movements into, out of, and within the area, and give the army authority to banish legal residents and to confiscate their property, remove whole villages from one zone to another, and to try in military summary courts individuals who violate its regulations."

"All Arab communities are under military government and only Arab communities are," observes Rabbi Morris S. Lazaron.

"Every area in which Arabs are in a majority is under military rule. . . . The harshness of the military constitutes a major source of complaints by the Arabs," reports Dr. Fey.

The consequences of placing the Arabs under military rule are manifold. Civil rights are virtually suspended. The Israeli Government dismisses "due process of law" when proceeding against the Arabs: "Individuals are banished from their villages, permanently or temporarily. Others are imprisoned by military edict, for not co-operating with police investigations, on suspicion of harbouring infiltrators. or even if they are just believed to be 'trouble-makers'," observes Marian Pearl.

The military government sentences suspected infiltrators and believed trouble-makers "without trial, on the basis of the emergency regulations," reports the New York Times. "The Arabs have no habeas corpus," states Rabbi Lazaron. Even against the criticism of the Press and of the Supreme Court, the Government of Israel maintains its policy of "collective punishment" of whole Arab communities for acts committed by individuals.

One consequence of military rule is the restriction of movement, applied strictly against the Arabs. For example, "the Nazareth resident who wants to visit a relative in Jaffa must apply for a military permit to leave town a day or two before his trip. This involves filling out application forms, a trip to the military governor's office, and waiting in line for hours, all of which may eventually result in failure," reports Mr. Peretz. "Not even the Arab members of the Knesset have freedom of movement," states Rabbi Lazaron. "An Arab cannot even go from Nazareth to Cana, a distance of six miles, without a permit," writes Dr. Fey.

Even within the same city, restrictions of movement apply. Mr. Hal Lehrman describes the situation of the Arabs of Jaffa — formerly a city of over 75,000 Arabs, but now inhabited by a majority of Jews with less than 5,000 Arabs, as follows:

"The Arabs are concentrated inside the small but neat Ajemi quarter; they live in kind of reverse segregation; they need passes to go out, and Jews need passes to go in." He writes in another context:

"It may be a peculiar word to use but 'ghetto' is the one I think of for the guarded enclosure where Arabs are concentrated in Jaffa and other once important towns"

Not only are the Arabs discriminated against in their enjoyment of their elementary civil and personal rights, but they are also denied political rights. "They have no real political parties of their own." writes Rabbi Lazaron, "they are not adequately represented in the Government, and the road is closed to their securing such

representation," reports Dr. Fey. Only four of their local councils have been elected by village residents, while the others — where they exist at all — had been appointed by the Government, reports

Mr. Peretz.

Finally, it must be mentioned that Arab affairs are handled by more than a dozen governmental ministries and departments situation which has obvious unsalutary consequences. It has often been said by Israeli spokesmen that, notwithstanding all these considerations, the Arabs of Israel can always resort to the courts of the land in order to secure justice. Entirely apart from the high cost of, and the long time consumed by, resorting to the courts, and also apart from the obvious fact that the courts must decide in terms of the existing laws of the State, it must also be mentioned that often the decisions of the courts go unheeded by the authorities, particularly the military. As Rabbi Lazaron puts it: "The military forces at times ignore even the decisions of the highest Israeli courts. For instance, an Arab takes his claim to home or land to court. The court confirms his claim and orders his property restored. The military destroys the property on grounds of 'security' and no one does anything about it."

Dr. Fey, citing a number of concrete instances in support of his statement, says that "court rulings in favour of the Arabs are frequently bypassed or circumvented", and that, while "the high court of justice often rules in favour of the Arabs", at other times "it will simply refer their complaints to the high military tribunal, where they die".

Economic, social and cultural rights: The "job opportunities" of Israel's Arabs are "rigidly restricted", according to Mr. Cogley, and there are "differences in wage scale between Jewish and Arab Israelis". "There are two price levels for agricultural products, one for Israelis and another for Arabs," asserts Rabbi Lazaron.

Patent discrimination is also exercised in the educational facilities available differentially to the Arab and Jewish communities.

A careful study of the official statistics published by the Israeli

A careful study of the official statistics published by the Israeli Government demonstrates this discrimination. Thus the figures contained in the Statistical Abstract of Israel, 1952-53, show conclusively that:

(1) Whereas 21.9 per cent of the Jewish population of Israel receive public education, only 15.7 per cent of the Arabs

(2) Whereas over 10 per cent of the Jewish students receiving public education are enrolled in post-elementary schools (secondary and agricultural schools, teachers' training institutes and universities), less than 2.5 per cent of the Arab students receive post-elementary education; and,

(3) The average ratio of students to teachers in Hebrew public schools is 20 students for 1 teacher, while the corresponding ratio in Arabic schools is 35 to 1.

Dr. Fey comments as follows on the educational facilities provided for the Arabs: "Although they pay taxes and subscribe to the compulsory loans on the same basis as other citizens, their schools are the poorest in the country. Textbooks are scarce and the teachers are unqualified. Many teachers are Iraqi Jews, who speak Arabic but are not well trained."

Religious Rights

Speaking for the Evangelical Episcopal Community in Israel, the Reverend. Rafiq A. Farah wrote: "Some of the property of this community is still in the hands of the Custodian of Absentees'

Property

On 26th February 1953, Monseigneur George Hakim, Archbishop of the Greek Catholic community in Israel, told the Hebrew daily Maarev that "many church properties are still illegally seized, priests are not allowed permanent residence in Israel, and religious students are prevented from reaching theological schools". Mr. Cogley states that "Catholic nuns and priests... complain of being viciously insulted — even spit at — on the streets, and mocked even by quite small children".

even by quite small children".

As for the Muslim community, its Waqfs (i.e., religious-philanthropic communal properties) are controlled by a Jewish appointee of the Israeli Government. Writes Rabbi Lazaron: "The State has taken over the property of the Waqfs, the Muslim institutions of charity. Surely the administration and control of such properties should be in Muslim hands? The liaison between the Muslim communities and the State is in the hands of a Government official who is not a Muslim but an Israeli Iew. Surely the Muslims should have is not a Muslim but an Israeli Jew. Surely the Muslims should have the basic right to appoint one of their own faith as liaison officer in dealing with the Government and the right also to administer such affairs as their charity and philanthropy.

IV. HOW ISRAEL APPROPRIATES ARAB PROPERTY

Property rights: Last but not least, the confiscation of Arab property by the Israeli authorities must be cited. A number of laws successively enacted by the Knesset authorize the Government to confiscate the property of the refugees, the property of those Arabs who, while still living inside Israeli-held territory, are residing in other than what were on 15th May 1948 their normal places of residence, and even the property of Arabs who had not moved from their homes.

According to Mr. Peretz, "about four million dunams (880,000 acres) of Arab-owned land were taken over by the Israeli Custodian of Absentee Property. Of this area, approximately 300,000 dunams belonged to Arab residents of Israel who had fled from one section of the State to another during the fighting, or had had been moved from their villages by the Jewish authorities for 'security reasons'."

In addition to all these manifestations of the discriminatory policy of the Government of Israel, mention must be made of the destruction of inhabited Arab villages by the armed forces of the State, for the establishment of settlements for incoming Jews, or in retaliation for acts allegedly committed by some members of the village concerned. The interested reader will find in the pages of Ner (a monthly periodical published by the Ihud Association in Israeli-held Jerusalem), for example, detailed descriptions of countless instances of such retaliatory destruction or expropriation of the farmland of Arab villages.

To achieve this cherished end, the Israeli authorities have resorted to the application of measures hitherto unheard of in modern

First, in order to clear the table and pave the way for confiscation ultimately, the military governor declares, as a first step, an Arab area a prohibited zone. Having done so, another step is taken to ensure that no Arab is allowed to enter the prohibited zone and proceed with the cultivation of his land. This done, the 1953 law is evoked and agricultural lands become liable for confiscation since the owners have failed to tend and till their lands themselves. But, since the owners are barred from reaching and cultivating their lands, which have already been declared a prohibited zone, the confiscation becomes an accomplished fact. This means that the

property of the Arabs automatically becomes the property of the State. And when land becomes the property of the State, a nominal compensation is offered to the owners. Since the rate of compensation per acre is less in value than the income of a year's yielding of same, the Arab owners, or the majority of them, usually decline to to accept the offer. The total areas confiscated in this way exceed 1,000,000 dunams.

A similar process is applied to the land and property of those Arabs known to the world today as "refugees", and who are not allowed to return to their homes and lands. The Israeli authorities had appointed a special sequestrator to administer the lands and property of the refugees, ironically classified as "absentees". The special sequestrator pays income tax to the Israeli treasury. He is also the sole arbitrator who fixes the rate of the income tax.

Having appropriated the land and property of the "Arab absentees", the sequestrator takes the next step and contacts the "Development Council" with a view to offering for sale the land and property of the "Arab absentees" for a nominal price. When the transaction is made, and the property transferred to the Development Council, the Council in turn invites Israelis, business concerns and companies to buy the property, usually for exorbitant prices. The profit thus gained goes into the Israeli coffers.

It is quite clear that Israel has adopted this most unusual process in dealing with the property of the Arabs in order to give this absurd proceeding the semblance of legality. They hope by so doing, when peace comes, the Arab refugees will have been compensated for the loss of land and property on the basis of the price rate fixed by the sequestrator when making his deal with the "Development Council".

This is Israel at work. What a vast contrast between this and the loud emphasis made by some quarters that Israel represents the most democratic, equitable and progressive area in the Middle East.
Writing shortly before the establishment of Israel, Dr. Weizman

said: "I am certain that the world will judge the Jewish State by what it will do with the Arabs".

In the light of the evidence marshalled above, one may perhaps permitted to wonder when Dr. Weizman's prophecy will be fulfilled.



THE REPUBLIC

on 19th

MOTION 0

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for



Top left — A view of the historic session of the Parliament of the Sudan when on Monday 19th December 1955 the motion of Independence was carried unanimously.

Qur picture shows a member of the House of Representatives supporting the motion.

*

Centre left — The flags of the condominium Powers, Great Britain and Egypt, are being hauled down by officers of the Sudan Defence Force on 1st January 1956. The Sudan flag is being hoisted simultaneously.

*

Bottom left — A view of the crowd celebrating the Sudanese Flag Day. A woman in the foreground is seen draped with the flag.





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Area: 96

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THE SUDAN

ber, 1955

PENDENCE

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SUDAN

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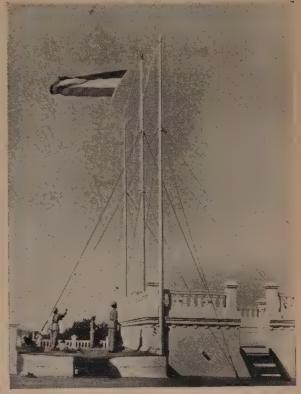
Top right — The Prime Minister of the Sudan, Mr. Isma'il al-Azhari, is reading to the Speaker of the House of Representatives the despatches received from the Egyptian and British Governments recognizing the Independence of the Sudan.



Centre right — The Sudan Flag (blue, yellow and green) is flying over the Palace at Khartoum, the Sudan.



Bottom right — Members of the House of Representatives are greeting each other after the Declaration of Independence. Our picture shows Mr. Merghani Hamza, a prominent Sudanese leader, shaking hands with a member of the House.





The Prime Minister of the Sudan's Speech on the Occasion of Hoisting the Sudan Flag

terif atteri

"There is no occasion in the history of the Sudan and its people greater than the day on which the country has attained its full independence and sovereignty.

At this very ninth hour of the first day of January, 1956, we announce the birth of the first Sudanese Democratic Independent Republic, and its three-coloured flag is hoisted to fly all over the country to symbolize its sovereignty and national pride. If this is the day that has marked the end of our struggle for independence, it is indeed the beginning of our task of maintaining this independence and building our future progress, which aims at the prosperity and welfare of the nation at large. The only way to achieve this is to forget the past with its grievances, to shed our fears, to have faith in shouldering this heavy task, and facing the future as an integral whole.
"On this occasion we eulogize our great nation for its struggle

and confidence which yielded quick fruit.
"On this historic occasion I take the opportunity to express my gratitude to both Governments of the Republic of Egypt and of Great Britain, who fulfilled their pledges and executed their obligations according to the 1953 Agreement in full.

"These two Governments are today quite willing to fold their flags, which have been flying over this country for fifty-six years, in

order to be replaced by the flag of the Independent Sudan. . . . "Our people were determined to achieve their independence, and indeed they did; they are now more determined to maintain it,

and they will.

"Since the will of the people is our gospel, nothing will stand in our way to glory and strength with the blessings and guidance of the Almighty, Who has always been on our side."

The Prime Minister of the Sudan's historic speech on the 1st January, 1956 to his Nation

" Dear Compatriots,

"Praise to Almighty God! He has graciously bestowed upon us the blessing of freedom and independence. May He grant us the ability to acknowledge and preserve this independence by constant and vigilant hard work for the welfare of the people, for the happiness of humanity as a whole, and the establishment of peace for all parts of the world!

"By the grace of God, and through the struggle, consciousness and co-operation of the people, the flag of the free Independent Sudan is today flying high, to be greeted with sincerity and loyalty by the people; for it is the symbol of their hard struggle, and the title to

their ancient glory.
"Today is a great day for the Sudanese; they stood to salute their victorious flag, for which they struggled for many long years

Top left — The Prime Minister of the Sudan, Mr. Isma'il al-Azhari, and Mr. Ahmad Marghoub, the leader of the Opposition, are hoisting the Flag on the terrace of the Palace while the three officers of the Sudan Defence Force are doing the same on the roof of the Palace in accompaniment of the booming of 101 salvoes of guns.

Bottom left — After the Flag of the Sudan had been hoisted over the Palace, the Prime Minister, Mr. Isma'il al-Azhari, handed over the Egyptian and British flags to the respective Egyptian and British representatives. Our picture shows Mr. al-Azhari handing over the Egyptian flag to the Egyptian representative, Miralai 'Abd al Fattah Hasan.

with determination. sacrifice, faith in God and the fatherland. They bore the disasters of colonization in order to see the dawn of this day. and enjoy its light and warmth, promising happiness and prosperity. A few years ago this day was only a happy dream, or even a sort of the impossible in the eyes of the colonizer, who saw it far; for he depended on his authority and force. but we saw it near; for we depended on Almighty God, and on the strength, consciousness, clear comprehension and confidence of the nation in the fight for dignity and prestige.

"Dear Compatriots, "As we stand today on the threshold of liberty, turning our backs on a gloomy past, and welcoming a bright future, we must review in brief the past and derive from it a lesson and strength, because the peculiarities which enabled this unarmed nation to defeat the powerful colonization should fostered and looked after as a

safeguarding shield to protect and preserve its independence. It will remain a source of great pride for this nation for many long years to come that it was able by wisdom, firmness and good faith to extract its liberty, independence and sovereignty from the teeth of colonization by the shortest and safest means without having to resort — as other nations do — to heavy bloodshed to achieve its freedom and undo the shackles of slavery.

"Colonization sat heavily upon this land for fifty-seven years, tyrannizing over its potentialities, destroying its peculiarities, and spreading hatred and separation between its people in order to acquire a long stay. But unarmed as we were, we continued our struggle until we achieved victory.

"By being able to quell the revolt of 1924, the colonizer thought it was the end. But the vigilance of nations does not retreat. Only a few years later, the people reconsolidated their lines by founding the Graduates' Congress with a view



Our picture shows the five members of the Supreme Commission at the Flag Day Ceremony. They have been elected by the Sudan Parliament to act for the Head of the State during the period between the Declaration of Independence and the election of the Head of the State according to the rules of the final Constitution of the Sudan.

From left to right are seated: Mr. Ahmad Muhammad Saleh, Mr. Ahmad Muhammad Yasin, Mr. Dirdiri Muhammad 'Osman, Mr. Sirisyo Sirro and Mr. 'Abd al-Fattah al-Maghribi.

to continuing their struggle from field to field, until by their strong youthful arms they were able today to hoist the flag announcing the birth of the new State, signifying the dawn of freedom and prestige.

" Dear Compatriots,

"As we stand between two eras, the era of the hated past and the new one of a bright future, we must forget our past differences and face the future with determination and faith. For although independence is a blessing, it is surrounded by dangers and thorns. As you have proved yourself capable in the past of combating colonization, you should be able today to preserve your independence. I am confident that you will hold fast to your gains and never retreat. This nation will proceed on its way, no power in the world being able to turn it away from protecting and developing its independence.

"Dear Compatriots,

"I announce from this place that you are today free in your homes and masters of your land, and you should feel the essence of freedom, and extricate your minds from the chains of ignorance and slavery. Freedom is not the hoisting of flags or the signing of documents, but is faith and dignity dwelling in the souls and in the hearts.

"Dear Compatriots,

"Today your independence is complete, and you enter the wide door of liberty as a nation with a glorious past in order to stand in line with other nations of the free world, to carry out your full share of duty towards the progress of humanity, and the establishment of world peace. This nation's potentialities are unequalled, and your land of one million square miles overflows with fertility, valuable minerals, and offers a sphere capable of affording happiness and prosperity for millions of human souls. We shall not be selfish in these; we will extend their benefit upon our neighbours and other world peace-loving nations.

You have covered a distance for liberation, but you still have long distances to cover in the field of development. Every one of you should be happy henceforth; every effort and every trouble he takes is for the dear nation. Thus let us always do more.

"Dear Compatriots,

"I thank you for your confidence placed in us; for we depend, after God, upon it. It was our armour in our struggle and by its virtue we have been able to secure in two years your freedom and independence. We pledge at this historic moment not to betray the trust or break the promise that we shall not bind you in any treaties or alliances, but shall protect our independence from anything that may reduce it. We shall always be generous to our



At the end of the historic session of the Parliament of the Sudan, the political leaders forgot their differences and rushed to greet each other. Our picture shows the Prime Minister of the Sudan, Mr. Isma'il al-Azhari, being greeted by Mr. Merghani Hamza, a prominent politician of the Sudan.

guests, and faithful to our neighbours in cordialness and friendship.

"Dear Compatriots,

"Be proud that you are today masters of your land. Never lower your heads, nor feel disheartened; for God will never deprive you of the reward for your deeds. We shall go ahead depending on the Almighty and on your support. So rejoice in your independence, and enjoy your freedom, and may victory be always with you!"

THE GARDEN OF CONTENTMENT

X. ABSTINENCE

The dwellers in the Garden did confess With shining eyes all bright and blissfulness That from dark root there grew a sacred flow'r, The choicest of the beauties in that heavenly bow'r. I did surmise that flow'r were penitence.

But they denied,
And soft replied,
Alike are root and flow'r called Abstinence.

'Tis not to wallow in the bounties of the Lord

Makes gratitude;
To dive into the ocean of His mercies or to hoard
Pleasures and pomp or pile up dainties on the board;
'Tis not this plenitude
Makes gratitude.

Such brings but surfeit, sloth, disease, disgust,

And hurls the foolish victim headlong to the dust.

But gratitude is this:

That one should sometimes miss
These wonderful and pure and bountiful delights,
Should set aside day's pleasure and the bliss of nights
And, coming back after due abstinence,
Should see with clearer eyes,
And know, more humbly wise,
The mercies that the Lord hath given
From heaven,
This earthly paradise.

W. B. Bashyr-Pickard.

THE MESSAGE OF KING SA'UD OF ARABIA ON THE SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF HIS ACCESSION TO THE THRONE

(12th November, 1955)

"We would only follow what is dictated by the interests of the Arabs and the Muslims; and we will never heed anything except that which is dictated to us by Islam, by our homeland, and by our nation."

"My dear People!

"I greet you with the greeting of Islam.1

"It is my duty on this day, in which we bid farewell to the second year since I was entrusted with the reins of government in this dear Kingdom, and greet the third year of this period, to praise the Almighty sincerely, and to thank Him for the bounties which He has given us, for this abounding peace, and for the success which He has granted to us to enable us to carry out to our utmost what is in the interest of our country and people and in the interest of the Arabs and the Muslims. Without the blessing of God and His mercy we would never have made such strides in reform or made such a continuous effort to the benefit of our people and our

"It was with the help of the Almighty that we were able to enlarge the Prophet Muhammad's Mosque at Medina, and begin work on enlarging the Mosque of Mecca. With His help we have been able to build roads connecting towns and villages. We have been able to invigorate trade and provide the means of a better livelihood to the nation. We have also organized public hygiene, built hospitals and dispensaries, and established religious and scientific institutions of learning, as well as schools and colleges in the various parts of the kingdom. We have also fulfilled our duty in providing succour to the distressed, and in helping the poor of the country. We have also made every endeavour to reform the machinery of government and organize it on better lines, by forming the Council of Ministers to administer the affairs of the Kingdom. A budget has also been started, and with it we have been able to balance the income and expenditure of the State and keep aside a reserve for emergencies. We have



also set before us many gigantic constructive projects for the development and progress of the country, with God's help.

help.
"The blessings and bounties of God upon us in this respect are more than can be enumerated. We should all thank Him for His grace, and beseech Him for more.

thank Him for His grace, and beseech Him for more.

"It is my duty to call upon myself and my people to fear God and obey Him, and to ask Him to watch over me in secret and in public, and to adhere to the commandments of God and His laws by fulfilling what He has ordained and avoiding what He has forbidden, so that we may earn His blessing and deserve His help.

"We have endeavoured by every possible means to promote the development and progress of our country. We allowed nothing to prevent us from engaging in constructive and fruitful political activities aimed at promoting the interests of the Arabs and consolidating their ranks. Thus, in addition to the political and economic ties between us and our sister Egypt — ties which have had far-reaching effect on the life of the two countries—we have concluded a military pact which will be a strong link in fortifying Arab defence against any aggression.\(^{1a}\) This pact further strengthens the Arab world after the conclusion of the military pact between Egypt and Syria. Our efforts with our sister Syria were also fruitful and positive.\(^{2}\)

1a The Pact of Mutual Defence between Sa'udi Arabia and Egypt was signed on 27th October 1955.

2 Sa'udi Arabia gave Syria last year a loan of 10,000,000 dollars.

¹ The traditional greeting of Islam, and one used by the Prophet Muhammad, is (Arabic): al-Salamu 'alaikum — "May Peace be upon you."

" My dear People!

"The aggression by the British Government against a part of our Kingdom, and its occupation of the Buraimi region by surprise and without previous warning, have become known to you. We know of no reason for this aggression. We kept our promises when we concluded an arbitration agreement with them. They have themselves violated this arbitration agreement on several occasions. They used pressure and violence, and terrorized the inhabitants with various methods. They have been lost for methods to achieve their ambitions and aims. We know of no worthy reason for the British renouncing their pledges and promises. I could find no explanation for this except that they have become impatient with us when they failed to make us a tool for the realization of their imperialistic ambitions and strategic requirements, which do not harmonize with the interests of our country or with the interests of the Muslims and the Arabs. They invited us to join their pacts, and to follow in their trail. But we refused. We would only follow what is dictated by the interests of the Arabs and the Muslims; and we will never heed anything except that which is dictated to us by Islam, by our homeland, and by our nation. 'And so they punished them for naught but that they believed in God, the Mighty, the Praised' (The Qur'an,

85:8).
"We would like to mention briefly in this connection the outbreak of the Second what we did for the British upon the outbreak of the Second World War. We opened our country wide to them, so as to help them. We supported them with everything at our disposal. We thereby exposed our country to revenge at a time when we possessed not a single anti-aircraft gun or a fighter aircraft capable of repelling the aggressor. All this was chivalry on our part and a fulfilment of the traditional friendship between us. Our reward for this friendship and for this fulfilment of the promise was an aggression against our homeland and an attack against our very existence. This

happened at a time when they were preaching their love for peace and their support of the United Nations Charter and the Security Council.

"We ask the British people to listen to what we have said, to look for the truth, and to enquire about what their Government is falsely accusing us and the acts which it has directed against us. We ask the British people to weigh both sides in this case. We have at no time resorted to force against the British Government. We are still willing to accept arbitration, although we had earlier wanted a plebiscite. We do all this because we want to reach an honourable and amicable agreement with Britain. We would accept arbitration if the status quo were restored — that is to say the status quo in Buraimi before this aggression took place.

"My dear People!
"I have been most gratified by your patriotism and willingness to sacrifice yourselves to repel this aggression. We shall strive, with God's aid and strength, to restore our rights complete and undiminished. We shall pursue peaceful methods to achieve our aims. We shall also strive in every direction, and with all the energy and power at our disposal, to repel any aggression against our homeland.

"My dear People!

The attacks which the Jews continue to aim at the Arab countries bordering on Palestine have engaged our attention, and have strengthened our determination to prepare ourselves for any sacrifice which the situation might require if it became aggravated.

"I pray the Almighty to grant us and you His guidance and aid, and to consolidate our ranks with those of our Arab and Muslim brothers to the benefit of us all, and to what may help us to repel aggression against any of us.

And may the Peace and Blessing of God be with

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A modern Technical School in Egypt

EGYPT IN THE NEW ERA

ADVANCES IN EDUCATION

High priority for new schools

Education, like many other aspects of Egyptian life, is receiving the careful attention of the present Government, whose aim and policy is to develop and reform, if need be, all social structures to make up for the lost time of the pre-Revolutionary period.

Egypt's achievement in the educational field since the July 1952 Revolution could be best seen and appreciated if comparison is made with the condition of State education in

Egypt before the Revolution.

From the point of view of expenditure, the following table clearly shows the amount allotted for education out of the State budget in recent years and that allotted in the current year:

(All figures in millions)

		Amount	Rough
	State	Allotted for	Per-
Year	Budget	Education	centage
1939	 £E. 45	£E. 4	9
1944	 £E. 87	£E. 7	8
1954	 £E.173	£E.19	11
1954	 £E.228	£E.29	$12\frac{1}{2}$

These figures do not include State grants to universities, which last year were a little over £E.3 millions, and a further

£E.1 million for school welfare services.

Before the Revolution, the policy of the Ministry of Education for the increase in number of schools to meet the public demand for education was mainly based on the principle of renting standing buildings rather than building new schools. This policy was not only costly, but did not fulfil the requirements of the Ministry of Education, nor did it offer the best accommodation suitable for schools.

Immediately after the Revolution this school policy was replaced by one which has proved to be more sound and economical. One of the objectives of the Revolution is to wipe out illiteracy over the course of ten years. An educational committee was set up to investigate the whole question, and it was agreed that the construction of 4,906 schools at the rate of 490 schools per year was absolutely necessary if their ten-year objective of providing every child with suitable education was to be realized. The recommendation was officially accepted and approved; a Government department was set up for the construction of State schools, and an annual budget of £E.4,000,000 was provided for this purpose. Under the terms of this policy, the Ministry of Education was to receive before October 1954 some 490 new schools from the department concerned, and to the satisfaction of everybody, no less than some 372 schools have been built so far, and a further 120 schools were completed before the beginning of the next school year which began in October 1955. In other words 492 new premises became available at the beginning of the new school year. If this rate can be steadily maintained, then the construction of the total 9,906 schools can be achieved within the specified period.

Changes in educational system after the Revolution

This sudden increase in the number of schools entails a corresponding increase in demand for teachers. To meet this demand, the number of the Institutes of Education and various Training Colleges for both men and women teachers is being greatly increased. Arrangements were made in these Institutes and Colleges to admit some 10,000 new students as from October 1955.

The principle of education, free for all, with free midday meals and textbooks, was approved by the State and put into practice as early as 1950. This principle has been endorsed and maintained by the present Government.

The new situation arising after the Revolution has

naturally called for a drastic structural change in Egypt's educational system. Such a change was inevitable and natural in order to match the new spirit growing up in Egypt and to produce a coming generation which must be better educated and better equipped to meet modern conditions.

This change has affected the educational stages as

follows

1. Primary School Stage

These schools accept children from around six years of age for a five-year course, i.e., up to about eleven years. Primary education is free and compulsory. No foreign language is taught at this stage. Many primary schools have a nursery section for the three to five-year-olds, but small fees are required.

2. Preparatory School Stage

Boys and girls are admitted in these schools from the age of twelve years. It is a four-year course. Here pupils start learning a foreign language, either English or French. After completing this four-year stage, pupils sit for an examination prepared and supervised by the Ministry of Education.

3. Secondary School Stage

Boys and girls who are eligible for admission to these schools should not be more than seventeen years old and should have passed the examination held at the end of the preparatory stage by obtaining a minimum of 65 per cent of the total marks for all subjects. At the end of this Secondary stage of three years, all pupils sit for another examination prepared and supervised by the Ministry of Education, and those who pass obtain the Secondary School Certificate of Education. This Certificate entitles the holder to apply for admission to any one of the Egyptian universities.

4. Technical School Stage

Technical schools are of three types, specializing in either commerce, agriculture or industry. It is a three-year course of study. Those pupils who have passed their examination at the end of the preparatory stage, but obtained less than 65 per cent of the total marks of all subjects, can apply for admission to one of these technical schools. At the moment these schools cannot absorb all those who have obtained a pass with less than 65 per cent. The surplus, however, can attend private secondary schools or evening schools for further study to prepare for the Secondary School Certificate of Education as external students. To date, there are some 60 evening schools to cater for such pupils.

The graduates from these technical schools can attend the Higher School of Commerce or of Arts and Crafts for

further training.

The social, political and economic change has also affected all curricula. These have been revised with a view to meeting the requirements of the country after the July 1952 Revolution. The same policy has also been applied to school textbooks.

Egypt's efforts at effacing illiteracy

Comparison between the present number of schools of all types, together with pupils, and that obtaining just before the Revolution, clearly shows the efforts now pursued by Egypt to spread education among her people and to efface illiteracy.

In 1951-52 the number of State primary, preparatory, secondary and technical schools was 7,658, catering for 1,694,906 pupils. In the year 1953-54 the number of such schools rose to 8,252, catering for 1,905,127 pupils.

Besides these State schools, there are private and foreign

schools, the number of which runs to well over 1,000. These schools receive every encouragement and assistance from the Ministry of Education, who, of course, supervise and inspect them.

The new policy of the Ministry of Education is to encourage authorized and qualified individuals to open special private schools. This year at least twenty such premises have been established. If the private school is free of charge, then the Ministry of Education undertakes to pay the salaries of teachers and the rent of the school, and to give a subsidy on the basis of the number of classes. If the school charges fees then its proprietor receives an annual subsidy from the State.

Higher education receives no less attention from the State. The three Universities of Cairo, Heliopolis and Alexandria, together with al-Azhar University and the People's University, have recently expanded considerably, so that they now provide tuition for well over 75,000 students.

A year before the Revolution the School of Foreign Languages was established in Cairo. Tuition is provided in English, French, Italian, German and Spanish. The course is an evening one and the fee is nominal at £E.1 per session. The number of pupils at this school has steadily increased and now stands at 2,000. The Government has provided special facilities for students at this school to attend special courses in the country whose language they are learning. A great number of pupils have taken advantage of these facilities last summer.

As Egypt is rapidly developing her industrial schemes, the Government is making special provision for technical centres to meet the growing demand for skilled technicians. Private firms have also been encouraged to establish their own technical centres.

More attention is being paid to physical training and gymnastics, and they are playing a greater part in the

corporate life of the schools.

Another important factor is the relation between the home and the school; this element was missing in previous years, but now it is intended that this link shall receive the full consideration that it deserves.

In order to supplement the growing social services now in operation, the Cairo University authorities prepare students in vacation courses to tackle various problems arising out of the new social order and to train them to assist in various fields of social work. These courses were attended in 1955 by some 600 students of both sexes from all the universities.

Egypt helps Arab League countries by supplying teachers

In the midst of Egypt's own aspirations in the field of education, she has not been neglectful of the serious problems which face her sister States within the framework of the Arab League. This year, more than 1,000 teachers have been sent to various countries of the League to assist in the great work of combating illiteracy. On the other hand, some 3,500 students from various Arab countries have been welcomed in Egypt in order that they can follow courses of instruction in schools and universities.

There are many other aspects which are too lengthy to dwell upon here, such as the encouraging work going on in translations of European texts into Arabic, and the sending of educational missions to foreign countries, to pursue postgraduate studies.

All these education services require not only money and planning, but also the spirit which Egypt now, more than at any other time in her history, is able to infuse into her people.

THE MIDDLE EAST MUSLIM COMMUNITY A DECIDING FACTOR IN WORLD PEACE

The Baghdad Pact

A Turkish Viewpoint

By Ashraf Adib

The growing importance of the Muslim world to assure the balance between Democracy and Communism

Today none will deny that the world is divided into two parts. Instead of the old inter-States balance, we now have Democracy and Communism. The civil struggles in the unstable and ever-changing Western society; the big masses of population moving from one place to another during two world wars; the resurgence of nations and the breakdown of social laws, all have made a great change in human outlook. The old political balance has broken down and the two new communities have emerged. As a result of all this, conflicts between nations have grown bigger and more dangerous.

In this state of affairs, nations, like individuals in their dismay at elemental disasters, have forgotten their differences and begun to worry about their own lives. Yesterday's enemies have become today's allies. The people who, yesterday, hated each other, have today begun to speak about friendship. In this way a period of good wishes and friendship between nations has started, a period the like of which had never been seen in history before. The very nations that had oppressed Muslim countries and treated them like slaves for many centuries have made great changes in their policies. The power of Muslim countries has become very important to assure the balance between Democracy and Communism. This community of Muslims, unwearied, new, dynamic, and bordering on the most sensitive parts of the Communist frontiers, possesses social stability and faith in God. And also as it is free from the social instability that gnaws into the Western community, it has shown that it must be considered as a reliable power. Thus, it has become evident that the side which this power will join will press heavily on the



The Monument of the Republic of Turkey at Istanbul

other, more especially so with the foundation of heavy industry by Soviet Russia and the adherence of China and Indo-China to the Communist camp. All this has rendered the power of the Muslim countries an important factor for the democratic front.

Turkey shows the way out of the dilemma created by Communism and Democracy with which the Muslim world is face to face

How are we Muslims to conduct ourselves in the present circumstances?

Turkey, an ally of the democratic front, and a leader of the Muslim world for centuries, has tried to show the path

in this direction. The Turks, who have always lived as an independent nation, have founded many States in history, have built empires and have defended Islam against outside aggression. As a result of this glorious past of theirs, all Islamic peoples have harboured good sentiments for the Turks. Pakistan, the young Muslim State which understood the value of the Turkish line of action, has not hesitated to ally herself with Turkey in her efforts to maintain peace in the world. Iraq, having faith in the same policy, has followed suit. In Turkey, unfortunately, the policy of allying Turkey with Muslim countries has been neglected for many years because of ignorance, lack of understanding and the activities of some communities which are enemies of Islam, although the Turks as a nation knew it full well that the pursuit of allying Turkey with Muslim countries was always vital to her. But, because the West was against it, she was not able to follow her path freely. Now the situation in the West has changed: Turkey's alliance has become essential for the democratic world.

While the democratic world was busy taking measures against the eruption of the Communist volcano both in the West and in the East, it neglected entirely the southern front because it did not regard it as vulnerable. But the truth of the matter is that if the lava of this volcano could find a gap in the southern front, it is but certain that it will be impossible to stem it and all the petroleum regions will be occupied by the Communists, their submarines will cruise in the Indian Ocean and probably establish their base in the Gulf of Basra. The American diplomatic missions that visited these regions were able to foresee this stark reality in its nakedness, and it took them no time to come to the conclusion that it was of vital importance for the Muslim nations to set up an organization for the defence of this front.

The decision of the United States to strengthen the the southern front of course affected both Turkey and the Muslim world. In view of the facts of the critical situation with which the Muslim world was face to face, it was believed that it would wake up to its seriousness and avail itself of American help; for there is no doubt that, after the Muslim world had been armed and become technically advanced by the help of the United States of America, it would be a third power in the world balance, and be a factor for the preservation of peace.

In the matter of appraising the strength that could result from the union of the main interests of the Turkish and those of the Muslim world with the political interests of the democratic world, the Turkish Government showed great understanding. Accordingly it made its political orientation.

Egypt's attitude to the Baghdad Pact understandable to the Turks

Since Iraq occupies a position in between Pakistan and Turkey, which is important geographically and strategically, Turkey took the initiative for an agreement with Iraq. But unfortunately, the Egyptian Government assumed an hostile attitude towards this friendly effort of Turkey which offered the Muslim world great advantages. The opposition to it shown by the Egyptian Government was such that one could say that one could only have expected it of the Israel Government. This effort by Turkey to secure the co-operation of Iraq was made to establish a strong union of the Muslim countries, including those of the Arab League. In Turkey

the Egyptian opposition caused great astonishment; for the Turks were hard put to discover the real reason for it, they finding it not possible to imagine that Arab nations could keep outside the war that may occur between Turkey and Russia. If the Communist armies invade Turkey — God forbid! — would it be possible for them to stop at the borders of the Arab countries and not to march down the Gulf of Basra and occupy all the petroleum areas, which has been their objective for centuries?

As to Israel, do the Arab countries think that Turkey has made an agreement with the Israel Government against the Arab countries? This just cannot be; because Turkey has made it clear that she wants other Arab countries to join the Turko-Iraq pact. The Ankara Government has denied and condemned as false the propaganda which says that Turkey is with Israel and against the Arab countries. In fact such a thing cannot be imagined from a nation as the Turks, who are known to be noble, honest and brave. Turkey never fights against those who have the same faith; besides, the Turks cannot forget that in the First World War these Jews acted as spies of her enemies. Also, Jews are just as dangerous for the Turks as they are for the Arabs. Is there anyone who cannot realize the danger of the main ideal of Zionism?

It is not out of place to mention that it is not the Turks who helped the Jews settle in Israel and harass the Arabs. The responsibility for this, both materially and morally, belongs to the Arabs. The Turks cannot see a logical and valid reason whatsoever in Egypt's attitude of a vigorous opposition to the Turkish-Iraq pact, which is so vital to the interests of Muslims' problems.

The value of Turkish initiative in regard to the Baghdad Pact to the Muslim world, especially the Arabs

Everyone, especially the governments of the Muslim nations, must realize the importance of the danger surrounding the Islamic world, and must set all their personal feelings aside and think only of the interests of Islam and adapt their policy accordingly. The policy of the West to oppress the Muslim nations has now been replaced by the danger of Communism. It should be the duty of everyone not to hinder the union of Muslim nations against this danger. This is an unusual situation the like of which history does not know. The Turks, who for centuries fought for Islam and guarded its glory and honour, are now taking the initiative to unite the Muslim nations. I, for one, would like to say that this must evoke a feeling of gratitude and affection for the Turks among all Muslim nations.

The initiative taken by Turkey is really very important. A pact which includes Iraq, Iran and Pakistan will produce a community of 100 million people existing on the southern boundaries of the Communist front. If the Arab countries also participated in this pact, the number will increase to almost 150 million.

This great community will not only be an important factor in maintaining peace in the world but will also ensure the security of the Arab nations against Jewish aggression; since it is common knowledge that the Jews, having established a bridgehead in the very heart of the Arab world, want to settle in Mesopotamia, which is a very fertile territory.



A view of the open craneway of the Karachi Shipyard. This picture was taken when the construction work on this shipyard was in progress. Now the shipyard, engineering works, including a dry dock, have been completed, at a cost of £3,000,000. Another shipyard and dry dock is being built at Khulna, in East Pakistan.

"During the last five years development expenditure in the public sector has been Rs.3,688 million, of which foreign aid forms 22 per cent. Since its establishment four years ago the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation has completed sixteen industrial projects with a capital expenditure of Rs.337 million and another seventeen projects are expected to operate in the

next financial year.

"Expenditure on development increased from Rs.441 million in 1951/52 to Rs.1,114 million in 1955/56. In the private sector over Rs.2,000 million were invested. By any standard, development in Pakistan has been fast and considerable. In certain sectors it has been perhaps too fast. In textiles Pakistan produces about fourteen yards per head as against one and a half yards at Partition. There is constant endeavour to diversify our economy so as to bring about a balance between agriculture and industry."

(The Prime Minister of Pakistan in a speech of his made on 15th January 1956 at Karachi.)

INDUSTRIAL EXPANSION IN PAKISTAN

The Role of the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation

By Ahmad Na'eem

The rapid rise of Japan as an industrial country was due to the help of her Government

Japan's rapid development as a great nation has been a cause of surprise not only to the East but also to the West. "To many Westerners the Japanese achievement, in the economic as well as in the political sphere, seemed so astounding as to defy rational explanation." It was in 1868 when Japan entered in the modern phase of her history. The old system of government was overthrown and a new era was started. Only after a decade there were promising signs of great development. Japan was emerging as a great potential power on the horizon of Asia.

Japan assumed this position through rapid industrializa-

tion. Not later than the early eighties textile mills were spinning cotton, silk and wool; various plants scattered all over the island were producing a large number of commodities varying from cement to sugar; the Japanese army was using the munitions manufactured locally; and ships built in Japan were sailing the high seas. But how did Japan record these landmarks without having institutions needed for industrialization? It was the State which made it possible. It was the State itself which came forward in this field, and not believing in *laissez-faire* participated actively in the country's development and thus made it possible for this Asian nation to take gigantic strides in the shortest possible time. "It can be said with truth that there was scarcely any

important industry of the Western type during the later decade of the nineteenth century which did not owe its establishment to State initiative," writes Mr. G. C. Allan in his *Economic History of Modern Japan*. Another Western observer recorded in 1881: "We find that every company or manufactory deserving of notice in any way has been furnished with capital by the Government or has been endowed

with special privileges by the same power."

In other words, the Government of Japan did not believe in the doctrine of laissez-faire because of its impracticability in the Orient. Had the Japanese Government left the task of economic development of the country to individuals, Japan would have remained a backward country like her other Asian counterparts. Here it must be emphasized that the Japanese Government did nothing out of the ordinary, because it is the tradition of the East that the initiative must come from above and there must be encouragement from the rulers - in old days it was the Courts that supplied the inspiration to the artisans and in modern times it is the governments that should perform this job. This principle is applicable to every country of the East. An eminent economist, in tracing the causes of slow growth of industries in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, wrote: "The failure, to whatever causes it may have been due, undoubtedly emphasized the lesson that, in this country, there was no chance for the industries without the strong and vigorous backing of the government at least in the initial stages.'

Pakistan realizes the importance of the role her Government should play in her industrialization

This was more so true of Pakistan because rapid industrialization was the need of the hour. It may be remembered that the areas now constituting Pakistan were culpably kept backward by the British for administrative and military purposes. Accordingly these parts of undivided India were not provided with the prerequisites of industrialization, such as cheap electric power, efficient means of communications, adequate financial institutions and technical education. Non-Muslim capitalists, mostly Hindus, helped the foreign rulers of India in this respect. The non-Muslim industrialists, not caring for the prosperity of Muslim majority provinces, which would have been the ultimate result of setting up industries, ignored these regions for the installation of plants, notwithstanding the fact that they were rich in basic raw materials. The moneyed Muslims further worsened the situation. Having a feudal outlook they did not consider industry a profession worth their attention. The cumulative effect of all these factors was the absence of industry in the regions which later were to constitute Pakistan. "The extensive and varied economic resources of Pakistan would have led one to imagine that it would be equally rich in industrial development. . . . But the area now constituting Pakistan represents the most backward portion of the sub-continent of India," said Mr. I. I. Chundrigar, the then Minister of Commerce, Industries and Works, at the Industries Conference held at Karachi in December 1947. But after the independence these conditions were no longer tolerable. The Qa'id-i-a'zam M. A. Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, rightly said: "If Pakistan is to play its proper role in the world to which its size, manpower and resources entitle it, it must develop its industrial potentialities side by side with agriculture, and give its economy an industrial bias.'

But the job was not easy. There were numerous obstacles. The capital was shy. Technical personnel were not available. The know-how, the essence of industrialization, was missing. The capitalists who were eager to invest

their money lacked experience and the necessary incentive. Unfortunately the Government of Pakistan, not keeping in view the peculiar conditions of the country, followed a policy of laissez-faire which it had inherited from the British Government and ignored the lesson taught by Japan. The administration confined itself to the development of the means which promote industrialization. This did not bring the desired result. Private capital did come forward and the development of the country on the whole was spasmodic and unmethodical. A number of vital industries for the manufacture of chemicals, fertilizers, cement, sugar, iron and steel, shipbuilding, paper, wool and jute did not receive the attention they deserved. "Despite the various forms of assistance offered to industry, investment in industry during Pakistan's early years proved on the whole disappointingly small," recorded Mr. F. B. Arnold, United Kingdom Senior Trade Commissioner in Pakistan in his Economic Survey of Pakistan. Consequently, it was earnestly felt that if Pakistan was to be industrialized and economically developed the Government should formulate its policies on the Japanese

The Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation, that came into being in January 1952, has changed the face of Pakistan

Fortunately the administration also realized that "any further drift in its policy would prove harmful to the larger interest of the country". Thus it was in April 1950 that the Finance Minister of Pakistan, introducing the Budget for 1950-51, announced the intention of the Government to establish an Industrial Development Corporation to promote certain key industries. It took a further two years to set up an organization which could bring "the three limbs of the body — capital, experience and know-how — together for a full and thorough exploitation of Pakistan's vast resources."

On 12th January 1952 an organization under the name of the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation came into existence. "The Corporation was to take the initiative in the field of industry; it was to make investigations, surveys, plan and build industries with finance provided by the Government. It was also, in suitable cases, to assist private capital in its projects." The authorized capital of the corporation is Rs.10,000,000,¹ divided into a hundred fully-paid shares of Rs.100,000 each. The Corporation was to take an interest in those industries which private capital could not handle. Accordingly, industries entrusted to the Corporation were: (1) jute, (2) paper, (3) heavy engineering, (4) ship-building, (5) heavy chemicals, and (6) fertilizers. In 1952, iron and steel, cement and textiles were added to the list. A few other industries, such as natural gas, chemicals, pharmaceutical products, were also entrusted to the organization for a balanced development of the country. After the successful experiment of the development of the Sui gas, the development of power from natural gas, also became the responsibility of the Corporation. As the Pakistan Government does not believe in the State ownership of industries, it was provided in the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation Act that when the projects had been completed and successfully executed, the Corporation would transfer the share capital gradually to private investors.

The Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation set its hands to the task in all earnestness, and by its unceasing and unwearied exertions has paved the way for the rapid industrialization of the country. At present the Corporation has thirty vital projects under implementation. They are

¹ Rs.13 = £1.

either entirely financed by the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation or are being worked in association with private industrialists. Approximately Rs.560,000,000 are being invested in these projects, of which about Rs.260,000,000 have been contributed by the Corporation. The share of the private investors is Rs.180,000,000. This figure shows that there is no lack of capital in Pakistan, provided there are avenues for its smooth flow and there is proper encouragement. The Corporation also succeeded in securing a loan of Rs.50,000,000 from the World Bank, which considered these projects economic propositions. The rest of the capital came as foreign aid provided by the friendly nations and international organizations — the United States (Rs.40,000,000), Canada (Rs.18,000,000), New Zealand (Rs.8,500,000) and who/unicef (Rs.3,500,000).

It is gratifying to note that in the short span of its existence the Corporation has shown a brilliant record of performance. Except the steel plant and a fertilizer factory which would go into production by the end of next year, almost all the projects undertaken by the Corporation have gone into production. Thus this organization has provided in four years employment to 100,000 people and has effected an annual saving of Rs.500,000,000 in foreign exchange. "All this is no mean achievement, and a record any nation would feel proud of, particularly Pakistan, which is still in its infancy."

A few details of some of the projects initiated by the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation

It will not be out of place if the details of a few projects of the Corporation are given here. As stated above, although Pakistan has been endowed with "the richest and precious bounties of nature" she was not exploiting its generosity. It was the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation which undertook the exploitation of these resources for the better-

ment of the people.

Jute

Although the eastern wing of Pakistan produces more than 50,000,000 bales of jute, there was no jute mill in that area on the eve of independence. Consequently Pakistan had to export all her jute to the foreign countries and her cultivators had to depend on the "whims and caprices" of foreign buyers. More than once, in the last eight years, the economy of Pakistan became the victim of fluctuations of the world market. So a jute industry capable of consuming substantial quantities of jute was an essential requirement which had to be fulfilled at the earliest opportunity; for this would enable Pakistan to earn huge profits and provide substantial employment and conserve considerable foreign exchange by exporting manufactured jute goods rather than raw jute. Consequently this industry was given top priority in the sixyear National Development Plan, and an initial target of 6,000 looms was fixed for implementation by 1957. But the response from private capital was disappointing, and there was no activity in this field until the end of 1950. However, when the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation was entrusted with the task of developing the jute industry, its performance was remarkable. Within three years of its formation the Corporation completed the target of 6,000 looms two years ahead of schedule. The total investment in the industry so far has been approximately Rs.165,000,000, of which the Corporation share is about Rs.65,000,000. And today the jute industry is not only meeting the entire internal demand of 40,000 tons of jute goods, thus saving foreign exchange of Rs.40,000,000, but also exporting substantial quantities of jute goods to foreign countries, and it is expected that during 1956 this industry would earn approximately Rs.200,000,000 of foreign exchange. "The activities of the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation in this field have been so successful that today more or less a keen race is going on among the different industrialists to complete the construction of remaining factories at the earliest instance and bring them into production early this year."

Paper

The vital role of paper in the present cultural set-up of the society needs no particular emphasis. But like other essential commodities, Pakistan was also dependent on foreign countries for the supply of paper. Although the forests, scattered in both wings of the country, provide the essential raw materials — the bamboo and grass — nobody paid any attention to them. In 1949 the Government acquired the services of two foreign consulting firms to report on the feasibility of establishing a paper mill. But nothing was done till the end of 1951 except the preparation of the blue-prints, based on the recommendations of the foreign consultants. It was the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation which executed this plan in a remarkably short period. Not only did it build the largest paper mill in the East but also installed two other factories manufacturing different kinds of strawboard. At present Corporation factories, whose construction involved more than Rs.80,000,000, are meeting the internal requirements of paper, paper board and straw-board, and effecting a saving of Rs.55,000,000 in foreign exchange. Also it is expected that by the end of this year Pakistan would emerge as another exporter of paper and board.

Fertilizers

The importance of fertilizers for the improvement of agriculture cannot be over-emphasized. For Pakistan this important element is of vital significance because 80 per cent of her population depends on the produce of the soil. The manufacture of fertilizers is not only a complicated process but it also requires an investment of a huge capital. To expect private capital in Pakistan to rise to the occasion was like living in a fool's paradise. It was a task which could only be performed by an organization like the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation. On 27th March 1954 the foundation stone of a fertilizer factory was laid down by the former Governor-General of Pakistan. At present the construction work and the installation of the machinery are in full swing. It is expected that by the end of this year this huge plant will go into production. The fertilizer factory, which will cost more than Rs.60,000.000, will produce 50,000 tons of ammonium sulphate and will also provide ammonia and other by-products annually. The provision has also been made easily to double the production if the need arose. Being the first heavy chemical unit of its kind in Pakistan, the Daud Khel factory is bound to become the nucleus of an expanding chemical industry."

Steel, cement, sugar and textiles

The establishment of a steel plant which would go into production by the end of 1956 is another feather in the cap of the Corporation. This plant would help the country's industrialization to a great extent. In fact today the strength of a country is judged from the amount of steel it produces. Realizing the need of the country, the Corporation started the work with great zeal. An agreement was signed in 1953 between the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation and the well-known German firm, Krupps, appointing them technical consultants. The German experts started prospect-

ing work in November 1953, and after a short time reported "very encouraging results". So far Krupps have discovered 20,000,000 tons of iron ore, and there are good prospects for 100,000,000. At present a pilot plant is being set up at a cost of Rs.100,000,000. Its annual production will be 115,000 tons of bars, shapes, rods and hoops, and 86,000 tons of sheets and tin plate. This is the first phase of Krupps-Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation plan. After this another plant producing 300,000 tons of steel and ingots and 50,000 tons of pig iron per annum will be installed. This plant will cost approximately Rs.160,000,000. It may be recalled here that in the early years of Pakistan's existence it was generally believed that she had no iron deposits in either wing of the country. But now the picture is entirely different. When the entire scheme comes into operation Pakistan will have one of her most important and basic industrial needs fulfilled.

The contribution of the Corporation in the development of cement, sugar and textiles is no less significant. With its efforts the production of cement has increased by 340,000 tons and sugar by 12,000 tons. In the field of textiles it has installed four woollen mills and has made Pakistan self-

sufficient in woollen cloth of medium quality.

Natural gases

Equally significant is its role in the exploring and transmission of the natural gases in which Pakistan is rich. At

present the gas is being supplied to Karachi from a field situated some 350 miles north of Karachi. As Pakistan is deficient in coal, the Corporation is planning to develop power from the natural gas to be supplied to the industrial areas situated far away from the gas field. The project for the above work is being prepared by an Italian firm and the work is expected to start this year. It will involve an expenditure of more than Rs.100,000. This project may be completed by the end of 1957.

It would have been fantastic to imagine in 1947 that just after a decade Pakistan would have vessels locally built. But this is a reality today. It is expected that Pakistan would launch its first vessel some time during this year. Next year will witness the building of ships of 12,000 tons in the Karachi shipyards. The Corporation has helped to realize this dream. With the assistance of a French firm, and a capital of more than Rs.60,000,000, the Corporation staff succeeded in completing this project on 5th January 1956.

It is evident from the details given above that the Corporation has changed the face of Pakistan. As a result of the Corporation's "multitudinous programme" Pakistan is now well set on the road to self-sufficiency. The gloomy clouds that had hung dark and thick have been dispersed by the brilliant rays of hope given by the plans and achievements of the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation.

THE MEANING OF THE WORD "INDONESIA"

The word "Indonesia" has a purely national and political meaning, since it was used consistently in the national struggle for independence to replace "Netherlands East Indies". It is not racial, as some people seem to believe.

According to the Vice-President of Indonesia, Mr. Hatta, it was originally used as an ethnological term, being a composite term meaning "island India". Thus G. W. Earl, a British archaeologist, referred to the inhabitants generically as "Indu-nesians". G. R. Logan, also a British archaeologist, was the first person to refer to the then "Dutch East Indies" as the "Indonesian Archipelago". Previously various rather vague terminology had been employed. In 1884, the German, A. Bastian, utilized the term in a treatise on the area.

The first people to use "Indonesia" in the political sense were the Indonesian nationalists: all the parties established in the twenties and thirties of this century had the word "Indonesia" in their titles to emphasize the concept of nationality; these parties were not struggling for the independence of one regional group alone — the Javanese, Batak or Buginese for example — but of the entire Indonesian people.

Thus in 1928, the delegates to the historic All-Indonesian Youth Congress, who were drawn from all parts of the archipelago, proclaimed their common nationality in the following words:

We are one nation: the Indonesian nation We live in one fatherland: Indonesia We speak the same national language: Indonesian.

At the same time they declared that this, their homeland, stretched from Sabang in North Sumatra to Merauke in the south-east of West Irian.

Because of its political potency, the Dutch actively discouraged the use of "Indonesia" in place of their own term "Netherlands Indies", but after the second world war it became the official name of the Republic established by the people, while in 1948 even the Dutch bowed to reality so far as to amend their constitution to include the term "Indonesia" to describe the former "Netherlands Indies", including, of course, the territory of West Irian.

In this connection, it may be noted that the Dutch Government itself, in a report to the United Nations in 1949, stated clearly that "Indonesia consists of a series of island groups in the region of the equator, extending from the mainland of Asia to Australia. The principal groups are the Greater Sunda Islands, the Lesser Sunda Islands, the

Moluccas and New Guinea west of 141°E."

Thus "Indonesia" is now accepted throughout the world as the name of a new nation composed of various ethnical and cultural groups like so many others, comprising the territory once administered by the Netherlands crown as a single entity. It is a national and political unit, not a racial, philological, zoological or botanical area. It is the call of an idea that binds the people together; the desire of a people to constitute one national, indivisible political entity; it is a reality based on the highest ideals shared by them all.

This feeling of oneness was built up through common suffering under, and struggle against, Dutch colonial rule;

now solidly established it will inure for posterity.



THE CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW, Vol. II, No. 4, price 10/-; THE TURKIC LANGUAGES OF CENTRAL ASIA, by Professor N. A. Baskakov, with comments by Dr. Stefan Wurm, of Sydney University, London, 1954, price 6/-; and TURKIC PEOPLES OF THE U.S.S.R., by Dr. Stefan Wurm, price 10/-. Published by the Central Asian Research Centre, 66b King's Road, Chelsea, London, S.W.3, under the editorship of Lt.-Colonel G. E. Wheeler, in conjunction with Mr. D. J. Footman, of the Soviet Affairs Study Group, St. Anthony's College, Oxford.

All students of Muslim Central Asia and Soviet imperialism will find *The Central Asian Review* a mine of information on this subject. Colonel Wheeler's publication is admirably illustrated with maps showing the Ferghana Valley, the Tajik, Kirghiz and Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republics. The particular issue of the *Central Asian Review* mentioned above contains very detailed technical and cultural documentation on Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kirghizia, Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan, as well as the latest information on the proposed Turkmen Canal and Islamic studies in Russia.

The article entitled "The Enigma of the Main Turkmen Canal" deals with the origins of this project and the sudden silence of the Soviet books and writers about it. We were told about five years ago that the Main Turkmen Canal was to run from Takhia-Tash on the Amu-Darya to Krasnovodsk on the Caspian Sea with a branch running to the Sumbar River in the south-west, and was to be the biggest scheme of its kind in the world. This project when completed was to irrigate the Kara-Kum desert, and Northern and Western Turkmenistan would be supplied with water. Yet in a book published in Moscow, Turkmenskaya S.S.R., by Z. G. Freikin, there is no mention of this canal project. The cautious estimate of the Central Asian Review on this question is: "It may be that, like the Great Kara-Kum Canal project, it will lie fallow for a number of years only to be taken with renewed vigour, or it may be that the scheme has been finally abandoned. From the first, it seems that the scheme met with opposition on scientific grounds, and possibly also on economic and political grounds. It may be significant that the curtain fell over the project so soon after the change of government of the U.S.S.R.

The article, "Islamic studies in Russia," is a translation of N. A. Smirov's An Outline of the History of Islamic Studies in the U.S.S.R., published by the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., Moscow, 1954. Other articles deal with the various cultural, economic and social developments in the six Muslim Republics of Central Asia. This article is really indispensable to students of Islam in Europe.

Professor Baskakov's The Turkic Languages of Central Asia was published in June 1952 by the Moscow Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. It has now been made available in English by the Central Asian Research Centre. The Professor is a noted authority on the Karakalpak and other Turkic languages. In an introduction to this translation it is pointed out that Arabic in Central Asia was secondary in importance to Islam and that although the Soviet Govern-

ment are not attempting to replace Islam by Communism as a religion "it is insisting on the Russianization of Turkic languages by the introduction of the Cyrillic script and Russian loan words; and it even envisages the modification of grammar and phonetics".

In dealing with the ethnic groups and their languages, Professor Baskakov mentions two groups of Turkic peoples. The first of these included the Tartars, Baskirs, Nogays, Azerbaijanis, Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Turkmens, Kirghiz and Karakalpaks. He attacks the alleged reactionary section of the bourgeoisie, the feudal and clerical elements of the Azerbaijanis, who, he maintains, attempted to impose "a universal Turkish language" and showed pan-Islamic and pan-Turkic tendencies.

The second group was composed of the Chuvash, Kumyks, Karakalpaks, Kirghiz and Yakuts, whose languages "were either unwritten or written primitively". Of these peoples, the Chuvash, Kumyks and Yakuts had the most developed languages.

Among the less developed peoples whose languages had not fully developed were the Altais, Khakass, Tuva, Cholim, Kuarik, Kamass, Karagass (Tofa), Shors and others. They were, Professor Baskakov points out, "broken up into separate groups of peoples and tribes and were in fact condemned to complete extinction" (before the Revolution). They were split up into tribes and clans without established communities but possessing "a number of tribal tongues and dialects distinguished from each other by peculiarities of vocabulary and to some extent of grammatical construction, although they were of common origin".

Most of these Turkic peoples were, he says, formed into separate communities from the 14th-19th centuries and from the second half of the 19th century till 1917. They formed themselves into nations with their own national languages. During the first period the independent Turkic communities of Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Turkmens, Tartars, Baskirs, etc., were formed, but the Siberian Turkic tribes had not the necessary qualities to form distinct communities. This was the period of the national epics and "the intensive development of oral tradition". There was a rift between the spoken and written language (if any), the latter being used by "the upper strata of feudal society".

During the second period, Professor Baskakov maintains, the Turkic peoples were divided into two opposing camps: "the reactionary groups of the ruling class who tried to retain the old written languages filled with Arabic and Persian, and the progressive democratic section of the people which strove to blend the literary and popular tongues. To remove the Arabic, Persian and Turkish vocabulary from the literary languages and to approach closer to the language

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of the great Russian people (great in its honorific sense, not in its ethnical sense, i.e., as opposed to Little Russians.—Ed., I.R.). The latter section was opposed to the pan-Turk and pan-Islamic movements."

This blatant exposition of Russian imperialism shows that the Soviets have revived the old Tsarist assimilationist ambitions. For why should people of the same race and religion wish to give up their religion, language and nationality for Russian, the language of a foreign imperialist power? Professor Baskakov announces suppositions which would have been acceptable to Nazi imperialist theoreticians, such as Rosenberg, and the French assimilationists in North Africa and the Italian Fascists who attempted to abolish the use of Arabic in Libya.

Commenting on an assertion by Professor Baskakov to the effect that Russian is recognized as "a second native language" by all the peoples of the U.S.S.R., Dr. Wurm describes this statement as "a monstrous exaggeration; another anticipation of the desired scope of Russianization. The non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. are, in fact, constrained to regard Russian as a second language, but it can be spoken of as the second native language of non-Russian speakers only in some areas where the Russian and native populations are thoroughly intermingled."

Professor Baskakov's work is marred by the typical fawning eulogistic adulation of the late Soviet ruler, Marshal Stalin, who, he claims, "made it possible to put an end to the confusion previously reigning in this field of knowledge and to organize future work on Marxist lines. Stalin has shown conclusively that the relationship between nations and languages before and after the victory of Socialism are quite different. Under capitalist conditions where cross-breeding of languages takes place, there may be a conflict for the supremacy of one language over another language, but in any country after the victory of Socialism, languages can now develop in perfect freedom." Furthermore, Professor Baskakov maintains. "The constructive work done by Stalin has confronted Soviet linguistics with new tasks, too, in relation to the practical matters of the further development of national literary languages and particularly of the languages of the peoples of the U.S.S.R."

It is a pity that the personality of Stalin should have been allowed to obscure this issue, as he was known to be a poor linguist who spoke Russian with difficulty, while as a Georgian, a member of the subject people, he was instrumental in helping the Russian Bolsheviks drive out the popular Menshevik government in his native Georgia. He was one of the main exponents of Russian expansion at the expense of the subject peoples.

Professor Boskakov regards Kayum Nasir, G. Tokay, Sh. Kamal and G. Kamal as progressive Tartar writers and poets who strove to form a Tartar national language. M. F. Khundov, who is considered by Baskakov to be one of the founders of the Azerbaijani "national literary language", is quoted as having written, "Islam has brought our homeland nothing but harm. The Arabs not only robbed us of our power and our glory, and devastated and plundered our country; they imposed on us their alphabet, which hampers the advance of literacy and can only be learnt with great difficulty."

Professor Baskakov's writings are fraught with similar remarks hostile to Islam and to the Arabs, Turks and Iranians.

Dr. Wurm underlines the fact that Professor Baskakov criticizes the existing alphabets on the grounds that different symbols are used to represent certain similar sounds in the

Central Asian Turkic languages. In the introduction to this translation it is pointed out in this respect, "There can be little doubt that these differences were created deliberately for political reasons. Their removal would mean that the Turkic languages in their written form would become more mutually intelligible. This might conceivably have the effect of accentuating the strong cultural affinities which still persist among the Turkic people, but it might also facilitate and speed up the infiltration of Russian culture on the lines desired by the Soviet Government."

This brilliant and lucid summing up of the whole situation with regard to the cultural assimilation of the Central Asian Turkic peoples is a typical example of this admirably produced translation. It should also be remembered that the Soviets have introduced a new political-technical vocabulary and have favoured the Tashkent urban dialect at the expense of the nomadic dialects, no doubt a part of their policy of the dictatorship of the proletariat, or rather of the Communist Party over the peasantry.

Dr. Wurm's Turkic Peoples of the U.S.S.R. is illustrated with an invaluable map showing the geographic physical

distribution of twenty-nine Turkic languages.

This work of fifty-one pages is introduced by a very full sketch of the rise and development of the Turkic peoples, which is essential to any student of modern Central Asia. The second section deals with the languages, and the third

section deals with the Soviet linguistic policy, alphabets and

orthographies and "Russianization".

Dr. Wurm observes "the Turkic languages show a remarkable uniformity and inter-resemblance; only Chuvash and Kakut are strongly aberrant when compared to other Turkic languages. At the same time, the Turkic languages are characterized by an amazing slowness of change in the course of time: the language of the Orkhon and Yenisei inscriptions dating back to the eighth century A.D. differ remarkably little from the modern Eastern dialects and Taranchi, which may be regarded as the closest descendants of the old Turkic language of the inscriptions."

Dr. Wurm also states that the Tashkent dialect "differs most in its phonetics from the neighbouring Turkic languages".

In conclusion, Dr. Wurm states that the Soviet authorities make no bones about their policy of Russianization. This policy, he says, "has so far not shown much success, except for the introduction of a good many Russian loan-words expressing concepts foreign to the previous cultural background of the Turkic peoples of the U.S.S.R. There can be little doubt that the gradual breakdown of Europeanization, or rather Russianization, of the previous cultures of the Turkic peoples involved, as well as the compulsory spreading of the knowledge of Russian as the second 'native' language, will increase the degree of the Russianization of the various languages. It remains, however, as yet uncertain whether the Soviet authorities will ultimately reach their aim of Russianizing the Turkic languages to such an extent that they really succeed in altering even the phonetics and grammatical structure of the various languages on Russian lines, which with not very much justification they claim to have done already."

These brief excerpts may give some idea of the tremendous value of this book, but they cannot give full value to the vast amount of material collected and the detailed research and scholarship of the author.

The Central Asian Research Centre and St. Antony's College Soviet Affairs Study Group are to be congratulated for these excellent publications.



"I LOVE MY MUSLIM FRIENDS OF CYRENAICA"

Augustastrasse 9, Koch, Bad Godesberg/Rh., Western Germany.

Dear Sir,

Recently I returned to Germany after having worked in the new Sanusi Kingdom of Libya on a book about my impressions concerning the future of this most interesting kingdom of Africa. In spite of the fact that I was a European and a Christian, I found in the town of Benghazi, which has been in Muslim hands since it was first conquered by the famous Arab general, 'Amr Ibn al-'As in the seventh century, friendship and good relations with a large number

of Libyans.

It is well known that Libya is rather a poor country, situated on the borders of the Great Desert. After a war of nearly thirty years the Libyan Muslims succeeded in establishing their independence after World War II with the help of Great Britain and the United Nations. King Idris likes my countrymen very well, because during World War I the Grand Sanusi, the Sayyid Ahmad al-Sharif, was an ally of the German Empire against the domination of Italy and France in Libya and Britain in Egypt. The German submarines brought the Sayyid Ahmad to Turkey in 1918. King Muhammad Idris of Libya has employed some German experts and medical men for the Libyan Civil Hospital at Benghazi and other special advisers. The economic relations between Libya and Germany are rather important. German Volkswagen cars are in service on the route to Egypt and Tripoli and all German export goods are available. Several Arab shops offer their goods in the German language. But I do not regard all these things as very important. What is more interesting is that Europeans are accepting the Muslim customs as their own. Recently a German Muslim, Dr. 'Ali Shikowsky, born in Hamburg, celebrated his marriage to a British girl in Tripoli according to Muslim rites. Both accepted Islam as their religion. The cordial friendship offered to me by the Muslims of Libya, even by the very poor Muslims, was to me a symbol of a morality of the highest order which, I regret to say, has been sadly lacking in European Christians. When in the morning I travelled by bus to my office, my fare was often paid by a poor Arab in torn clothes and he would refuse to accept any help or favour in return. The fare was just threepence, but it is not the amount but the intention of the giver that matters to God. I know every German who needs money could go to any Arab shop and ask for it. In nearly every case he would get the money he needed on loan without any legal formality. I cannot help expressing my sorrow when I say that not a few Germans who availed themselves of the generosity of the Libyans have failed to honour their promises. But despite this, relations between the Germans and the Libyans are very good. I got every help from the Provincial Government of Cyrenaica to facilitate my studies for my book. A

trip to the famous oasis of Kufra was arranged by the local Press Officer without any financial liability to me.

When on my return journey home I reached Malta, the first impressions of European Christianity in the golden and heavily decorated churches of the island made me long for the simple houses of God, the mosques of the Muslims, where I felt the presence of God more than ever before. Travelling home by ship to Syracusa I came across two Muslim fellow passengers, an Egyptian education officer working in Cyrenaica going to Germany for medical treatment, and a merchant from Benghazi who was bound for Western Germany on business. We spoke about the relations between our peoples and beliefs and thought in common that the future of our peoples lay only in a peaceful life rooted in a mutual understanding. The Egyptian invited me to Cairo, and perhaps from there we shall go together to Mecca. My Egyptian friend thought I looked like an Arab "prince" and had all the deportment of a true Muslim!

My book about the country of the Sanusis is nearly complete. I shall dedicate it to the friendship between our peoples and I hope to see it translated one day into English and Arabic.

(Continued on next page)

The Koran Interpreted

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I am not yet a Muslim, but I feel with my Muslim brothers. Centuries ago the influence of Islamic culture and civilization contributed to European science and culture more than is commonly known by the broad masses of the Christian people. Therefore, I think that in the name of God and in faithfulness to His commandments we all, Muslims and Christians, shall find a new spirit of unity in mutual relations. The origin of our faith is the same and our common fate in a world more and more dominated by materialistic thoughts shall also be the same. A true and sincere

Muslim is in my opinion as good a Christian as a real Christian a Muslim. That is my idea after having studied the Qur'an and the Muslim peoples of North Africa.

I hope that the bloodshed of these days in French North Africa will be followed by a new period of real independence and prosperity for us all, Muslims and true Christians, united in a possible common new feeling in a world-wide spiritual empire of the grace of the Eternal.

Yours sincerely,
OTTO KARL DUPOW.

What they think of us...

MOHAMMEDANISM IN UGANDA

"Although Uganda is on the confines of Islam since her northern neighbour, the Sudan, is a Mohammedan country, we must note that the southern part of that country which borders on Uganda is not Mohammedan. The Negro tribes of the south, such as the Shilluks, have indeed proved something of a barrier to the southward drive of Islam, but in spite of that some Mohammedan influence has made its way across from the Sudan to Uganda.

"In the late nineteenth century Mohammedan Sudanese troops were used by the Egyptian Government which at that time aimed to expand towards Lake Victoria, and some of the troops, notably those that served under Emin Pasha, settled in Uganda. There are today areas, particularly in the West Nile district, where the descendants of those troops and their proselytes form fairly large Mohammedan communities.

"Mohammedan influence also came to Uganda from the East. Arab traders, travelling inland from Mombasa, first reached the kingdom of Buganda about the middle of the last century, a few years before the first Christian missionaries. For several decades Catholic and Protestant missionaries and the Arab traders struggled for the souls of the Buganda, and in particular for influence over the Kabaka or King. In 1889 civil war broke out in which a Christian force overcame the Mohammedans, who had temporarily gained control. This victory assured Christian ascendancy, but many individuals, including some chiefs, remained Mohammedans.

"The British Government pacified the neighbouring tribes and formed the Uganda Protectorate. In that work of pacification Buganda leaders and chiefs were used, and when the chiefs were Mohammedans many people in the districts over which they ruled followed them into Islam.

"Today Mohammedans are a small minority in Uganda, concentrated in a few scattered areas. They probably number about 225,000, whereas Catholics are over 1,450,000 and Protestants about 750,000. The total population of the Protectorate is approximately 5,000,000.

"Nevertheless, missionaries in many parts of Uganda report increases in the number of Mohammedans which give cause for alarm. Many predict that this is likely to become a serious menace in the not too distant future.

"The factors which favour the spread of Islam in this part of Africa are as follows:

"1. The Arab traders are able to introduce their proselytes into the business world and help them towards prosperity. Thus conversion to Islam is often a way to become rich.

"2. The matrimonial discipline, especially as it allows polygamy and divorce, is more suited to African traditions. At present, however, this does not seem to attract many people to Islam. There are, of course, many Christians who fail to live up to Christian ideals of marriage, but few leave the Church on that account.

"3. Practically every Mohammedan is a missionary. Frequently

Mohammedan men marry pagan or even Christian girls and often the girl's relatives are converted to Islam.

"4. Christianity is often seen as something European. In the early days of missionary activity this was an asset since the people admired the "wisdom" of the Europeans and so followed their religion. As nationalism grows, people may come to prefer Islam. Certainly the Mohammedans are far more in daily, close contact with the people than are the Christian missionaries. However, this factor has not so far exercised great influence. Educated Africans with nationalist sentiments seem to be more in danger of lapsing into paganism.

"A factor which tells against Islam in Uganda is the horror which some tribes have of circumcision.

"The most important disadvantage of the Mohammedans, however, is that they have not provided education on an equal scale with Catholics and Anglicans. They do not have European staffs at their disposal and they do not show great interest in education. As indication of the relative strength of the denominations in the educational field is that of twenty-two Teacher Training Colleges in the Protectorate, twelve are Catholic, eight Anglican, one is a Government College and only one is in the hands of the Mohammedans. It is almost taken for granted that an educated man in Uganda is a Christian because practically all education is in the hands of the Christian missions.

"There have been signs, however, in the last few years that Mohammedans are beginning to take more interest in education. Once they have more schools — and there is still room for many more schools — they will attract more children and make many converts. On the other hand they have still a great deal of leeway to make up as compared with the Christian missions. Indeed their schools are largely staffed by Catholic and Protestant teachers who have been expelled from their own schools. This of course means that they are usually comparatively inefficient, and African children and their parents are particularly sensitive to efficiency in schools.

"It cannot be denied, however, that the recent efforts by the Mohammedans in the educational field, backed by a Government which gives generous aid impartially to all three denominations, may well present a serious threat to Christian missions in Uganda.

"The answer to this threat would seem to be to convert the remaining 2,500,000 pagans as quickly as possible so as to prevent their absorption into Islam and to strengthen the faith and spiritual life of the Christians to prevent their defection. It is well known that once a person becomes a Mohammedan it practically never happens that he is converted to Christianity. (Italics are ours.—Ed., I.R.) A great handicap to the Church's efforts in these directions is the shortage of priests and of religious teaching. There are many places where new missions ought to be opened, especially in view of possible Mohammedan expansion, but the opening has to be delayed indefinitely because there are so few priests and because there are still many priests doing full-time teaching in schools and colleges." (Agenzio Internationale Fides, Rome, Italy, for 26th November 1955, No. 486).

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